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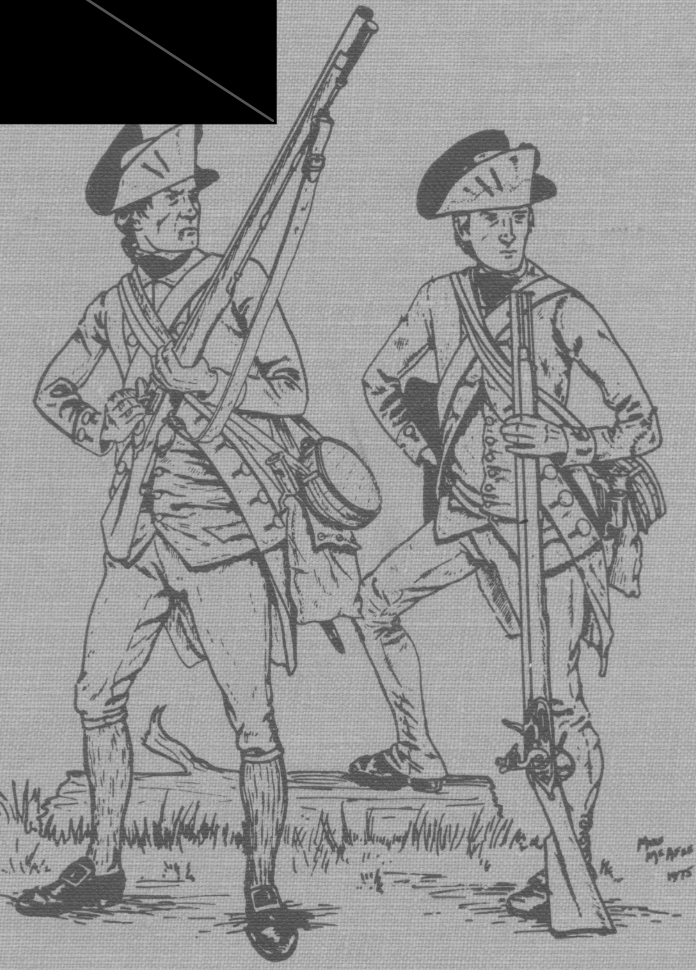
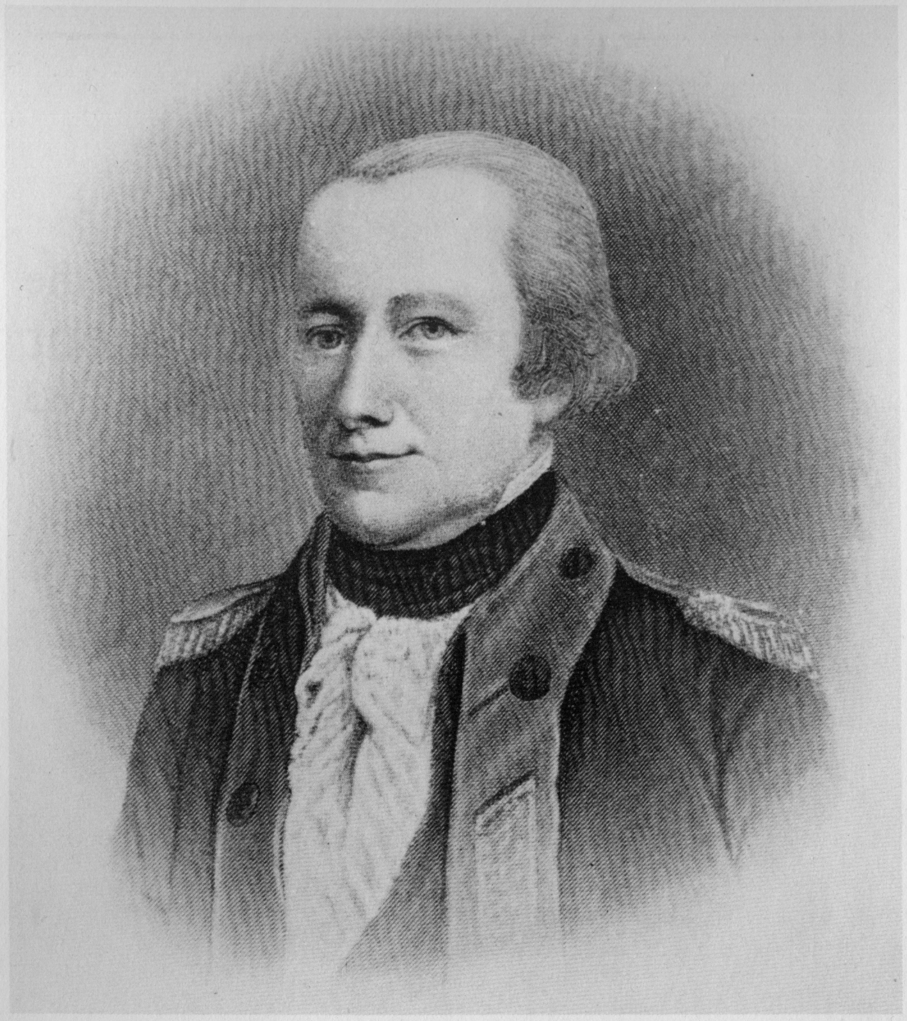


History of the

FIRST NEW YORK REGIMENT

1775-1783 ◆ T. W. Egly Jr.



Alexr. McDougall

Colonel Alexander McDougall, commander of the First New York Regiment from June 30, 1775 until August 12, 1776.
Reprinted from *Public Papers of George Clinton*.

History
# of the
First New York Regiment
1775–1783

by

T. W. Egly, Jr.

Peter E. Randall
Publisher

[redacted]

To my wife, Kathleen

[redacted]

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FOREWORD

Mr. Egly has not only produced one of the very first studies that we have of a Continental Army regiment, but it is also a volume that is immensely rich in detail and thoughtful in its analysis. After reading *The History of the First New York Regiment, 1775–1783*, the student of the American Revolution will gain a better appreciation of the staying power of Washington's army and its continuity of leadership so important in a war that lasted for over eight years. I predict that Egly's significant contribution will lead to other studies of American army units.

Dr. Donald Higginbotham, Chairman
Department of History
University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

Jarrod
Hayes

INTRODUCTION

Most regimental histories have been little more than a chronology of events and a list of men. Some have been presented in diary form, but few, if any, have attempted to add a dimension of personality to the regiment through an acquaintance with the officers and men. Previous to this volume, there existed no complete history of any of the New York regiments from the Revolutionary War. The lack of almost any secondary sources and the amount of primary research necessary for a meaningful endeavor has remained a deterrent to many who might have otherwise made such an attempt. Prior to the appearance of the electronic copying machine, the amount of time and money necessary to gather the prerequisite material was often an insurmountable obstacle.

A large part of the letters and documents used to develop this volume are heretofore unpublished and untapped material. There exists considerable original material relating to the First New York Regiment and this may be due, in part, to the prominence of some of the officers who served in the Regiment. During certain periods, some portions of the information are sketchy and somewhat conflicting, particularly those relating to the early years of the war. Names were often spelled as they sounded, and in many instances, several bits of information from various sources were necessary before a true picture began to emerge. Some small fact or occurrence was often the key to a circumstance or rounded out the details of an event when put together with already available material. While pertaining directly to the First New York Regiment, in a general sense much of the detail and story carry over to other New York regiments; for that matter, to Revolutionary War regiments as a whole.

The lack of research and the blind acceptance of previous accounts have tended to render a number of the very few existing secondary sources incorrect. It is the intention of this volume to put an end to the perpetuation of past errors, to dispel myths, and set stories straight. At the same time, it is not the purpose here to engage in a philosophical discussion of things military or to trace any complex social, political or economic aspect of the Revolutionary War but merely to tell the story of a regiment—The First New York—where it went, what it did, who were some of the officers and men who served in it, what were some of the daily problems and experiences of the men and what ultimately happened to the regiment. Much original material has been included and, in the author's opinion, gives a flavor and feeling for the times and events that would be lost in the language of today.

The American military forces during the Revolutionary War generally fell into three classifications: the Continental Army, the Militia and the Levies. The Continental Army, sometimes referred to as the "Continental Line," was composed of regiments raised in each colony or state and represented the "Regular Army." The First New York came under this category. Overall command of the Continental troops rested in General Washington, and there was no restriction as to where the Continental regiments might be sent or the length of time they might be assigned to a particular duty. At the outset, enlistments were for relatively short periods. It was not until the latter part of 1776 and early 1777 that terms of service in the Continental Army were extended to three years or the duration of the war. In 1776, Congress authorized an army of seventy-six thousand men. Throughout the war, however, the Continental Army never reached anything like that number, and, even at peak periods, the Continental regiments totaled no more than between thirty-five and forty thousand soldiers. New York's contribution to the Continental Army was approximately 3,400 men.

Militia were raised by the various states for short terms and generally assigned to tasks within the borders of the state to which they belonged. In today's terms, they could be compared to the National Guard of the various states. Militia regiments could not be assigned outside of their home state for longer than three months and, in many instances, were only "called up" when needed, kept as long as wanted and then sent home. A militia regiment, or part of a regiment, might be called out half a dozen times a year for only a few days at a time. Conceivably they might not be needed for extended periods. Typical of the assignments allotted to the militia were patrolling of coast lines and waterways, protecting stores and supplies, protecting frontier settlements against Indian attacks, combating Tory and Indian depradations in areas not immediately under the protection of the Continental regiments and generally harassing the enemy wherever possible. It must be said, however, that there were those instances where the militia stood and faced the enemy with the regiments of the Continental Army. It should be noted, too, that the militia proved to be a fruitful source of recruits for the Continental regiments.

The levies were made up of drafts from the various militia regiments as well as men recruited directly from the civilian population. While similar to the militia in many respects, the levies could be called upon to serve outside their home state during the entire term of enlistment.

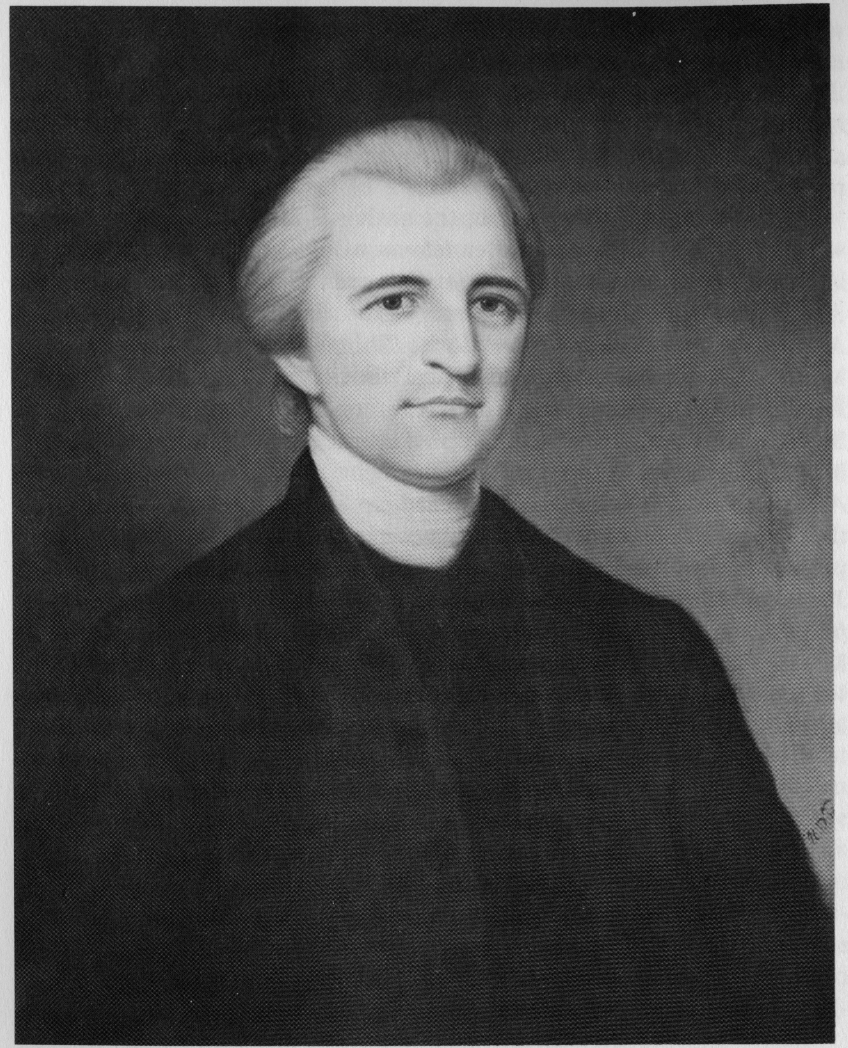
By June 1775, the "shot heard round the world" had already been fired and war with England was a reality. New York needed soldiers. On June twenty-eighth, the Provincial Congress authorized a military establishment of which the First New York was the senior regiment. Over the eight years of its existence, the First New York was to enjoy a reputation as one of the best drilled and disciplined regiments in the army. Much of this was due to the efforts of both Colonel Alexander McDougall and Colonel Goose Van Schaick. Both colonels were wealthy, prominent men who made their influence felt and who used their own personal funds for the benefit of the regiment. In 1775 and early 1776, the First New York under Colonel McDougall was far ahead of the other New York regiments in most respects, and McDougall was complimented on the progress and appearance of the regiment. Not all the comments about the regiment were favorable; however, and some opinions of the First New York, expressed in the latter part of 1775, were somewhat less than complimentary.

Subsequent to his appointment as commander in November 1776, most of the credit for whatever excellence was achieved in the regiment was due to Colonel Goose Van Schaick. He enjoyed the complete confidence of his superiors and was credited with being ". . . as good a Disciplinarian as any in the Army, and . . . the Subordination and Order which prevails in the Regiment he commands does him great Honor. . . ." With few exceptions, his selection of officers proved to be capable men well-suited for the duty assignments of the regiment, most notably Lieutenant Colonel Cornelius Van Dyck and Major John Graham. Both officers had illustrated their ability in previous service with Colonel Van Schaick and had demonstrated their capacity to work well together. Many of the captains selected by the Colonel were also men of proven ability and officers upon whom he could rely. The selection of officers took on added importance particularly in the light of the fact that, for extended periods, Colonel Van Schaick was compelled to be in Albany, away from the regiment, devoting his attention to the affairs of command in the northern department.

During most of the life of the First New York, its strength in numbers usually exceeded that of any of the other New York regiments. Some comments about the First New York have indicated that, ". . . this Regiment was not surpassed by any in the Army for full Ranks, or thorough Discipline; and to the Skill and Experience of Col. Van Schaick, the Troops were greatly indebted for an Example of a well drilled and officered Regiment."

Unfortunately, the whereabouts of most of the voluminous correspondence and letters of Colonel Goose Van Schaick are unknown. It has been suggested that the fire in the New York state library in 1911 may well have destroyed a significant portion. Some material undoubtedly remains in private hands waiting to be discovered and made a prime part of the record of New York in the Revolutionary War. Although a central military figure in New York during the war, Goose Van Schaick remains an enigma and relatively unknown, even among many scholars of the period.

In preparation of this volume, the author is indebted to many people without whose assistance the endeavor would have been much more laborious and would have taken much more time. Particular thanks are due to Alan Aimone, Military History Librarian, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York; Thomas Dunnings, Curator of Manuscripts, New York Historical Society; Mrs. Mary Proper, Reference Librarian, Nyack Public Library, Nyack, New York; James Stevens, Director, Newburgh Public Library, Newburgh, New York; Miss Jamie Suits, Manuscript Department, New York State Library, Albany, New York, for their patient help and suggestions in gathering the tremendous amount of material necessary and for their interest in the project during the long period of research. Thanks go to Miss Esther Jones of Gloversville, New York for her helpful suggestions in the preparation of the manuscript. A singular debt of gratitude is owed to Mrs. Helen Giusto who typed and re-typed the manuscript, gave invaluable assistance in reading and categorizing the many documents and letters, and added general encouragement to the project along the way.



The Rev. Israel Evans, commissioned chaplain in the First New York Regiment on August 3, 1775, served until November 1776.
Courtesy State of New Hampshire.

ONE

1775

On June 28, 1775 the New York Provincial Congress authorized the raising of the First New York Regiment together with three other infantry regiments and one company of artillery. This was to be New York's contribution to the Continental Army, sometimes called the New York line. On June 30th, the Provincial Congress agreed and ordered:

> "That the New York Regiment be considered as the first Regiment and Have rank accordingly, Albany, Ulster and Tryon Counties dissented. The Congress then unanimously approved of Alexander McDougall for Colonel, Rudolphus Ritzema for Lieutenant Colonel and John Brogden for Adjutant of the First Regiment."[1]

Recruiting in New York City and the surrounding area began immediately. Regiments were to be organized into ten companies of seventy-two men each (including sergeants, corporals, drummer and fifer) plus commissioned officers for a total of seven hundred fifty men. Five hundred copies of the warrant to prospective officers and enlistment instructions to the officers charged with the responsibility of raising the troops were to be printed and distributed as a broadside and in several newspapers. As the following warrant indicates, assurances were given by the Provincial Congress that commissions would be forthcoming (usually captain) if the pre-requisite number of men passed muster:

> "In Provincial Congress at New York June — 1775
> Gentlemen Greeting
> Know You that the grand Continental Congress of the Associated Colonies have Resolved and Ordered, that a certain number of Troops should be embodied in this Colony, to give protection to the Inhabitants & to be employed as Part of the American Continental Army. We therefore reposing special Confidence in your Prudence, Courage and affection to the Liberties of this Country, Do request and authorize you to inlist and raise a Company of Seventy two able bodied men of good Reputation (including three Sergeants, three Corporals, one Drummer & one Fifer) to serve as part of the said Troops, and that from Time to Time you report your Progress in the Premises to this Congress, for which this shall be your Warrant. And we hereby give you assurance, that you will be appointed a _____ in the said Troops when raised and embodied, if the number of men, inlisted by you (and _______ intended to be the other Officers of one Company) and received into the said Troops by such proper Officer

> or Muster Master, as shall be appointed for that Purpose, shall amount to the number above mentioned."[2]

Accompanying each warrant was a list of "Instructions for the Inlistment of Men" which spelled out that:

> 1. You are not to inlist any man, who is not able-bodied, healthy and a good marcher; but as men of good appearance may have ruptures and venerial complaints, which render them incapable of soldiers duty, you must give attention, that you be not imposed upon & into the opinion of a Surgeon, where there is room for suspicion.
> 2. You will have great regard to moral Character, sobriety in particular, — let our manners distinguish us from our Enemies, as much as the Cause we are engaged in.
> 3. Those who engage in defence of their Countrys Liberties shall be inlisted till the last day of December of the present year, unless sooner discharged by the Continental Congress.
> 4. You shall appoint such men Sergeants and Corporals as recommended themselves by their ability, activity & Diligence.
> 5. You will use all Diligence in Compleating your Company and Report to the President of the provincial Congress to the End, that you may receive Orders to Join your Regiment.
> 6. During the time you are filling up your Company, you will engage at the cheapest Rate for the provisions of such Men as are already enlisted, (if there be no public Magazine of Provisions from whence you may be supplied) not exceeding Eight shillings per week.
> 7. You will loose no Time in disciplining your Men so far as your situation will permit.
> 8. You will take Notice that proper persons will be appointed to inspect your Men & reject such as do not answer to your instructions.
> 9. You will furnish the Subalterns appointed to your Company with a copy of these instructions, who are hereby ordered to put themselves under your Command.
> 10. You will observe that the Troops raised by this Colony will be placed precisely upon the same footing, as to pay, Cloathing &c. with other the Continental Troops now raised or hereafter to be raised for the general defence.
> 11. No Apprentice or Servant to be enlisted without the Consent of the Master.

The pay scale for the Continental Army, including the newly authorized New York troops, was to come from the Continental Congress. This was a matter of very real concern to the members of the New York Committee of Safety. In early July, the Committee expressed its consternation regarding the pay of the troops, and asked ". . . What their pay is to be. We are at a loss about this matter, because the accounts we have of the pay of the Colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island differ so as to reduce us to an uncertainty . . ."[3] The officers of the First New York were no less concerned. On July twenty-sixth they had addressed a "memorial" to the Provincial Congress inquiring as to "what our pay is to be from the Captains down to the privates, the Adjutants and Quarter Masters included? and whether the officers are to receive their Commissions before they embark?"[4] A committee of the line officers of the First New York Regiment, headed by Captain William Goforth, presented themselves at the session of the Provincial Congress held on August second for the purpose of soliciting answers to their recent "memorial." The Congress deliberated and responded to the officers indicating that "the pay of the Troops raised in the Colony will be ascertained by the Continental Congress—but we have received assurances, that it will not be less, than the pay of the Connecticut Troops."[5] Regarding commissions the Congress explained, "That the Warrants given to the officers are to remain with them instead of Commissions, until their Commissions arrive from the General."[6] Part of the officer's letter of the twenty-sixth had related to the possibility of allowances for "Cloathing and arms." The Provincial Congress set this aspect to rest quickly saying that they were "not at liberty" to make any such allowances. While a resolution of the Continental Congress adopted on July twenty-ninth set forth the following monthly pay scale for regimental officers of the Continental Army, news of the passage of the resolution did not reach the New York Provincial Congress or the officers of the First New York until after August second:

MONTHLY PAY

Colonel	£15
Lieutenant Colonel	£12
Major	£10
Captain	£8
Lieutenant	£5.8
Adjutant & Quartermaster	£5.10
Ensign	£4.00
Sergeant	£2.8
Corporal, Drummer & Fifer	£2.4
Private	£2

Thus, the daily pay of a private was established at 1 Sh 11d.[7]

The use of enlistment bounties, an old military custom, was widespread and employed by both the New York Provincial Congress and later the Continental Congress. Early in July, the New York Provincial Congress resolved that, "Ten shillings shall be allowed to every Soldier, that shall inlist in the Continental Congress in this Colony, for the present Campaign, who shall furnish himself with a good musket to be approved of by the Muster Master & Armourer for each Regiment."[8] As a further stimulus to the tempo of enlistments, on August first the Provincial Congress resolved "That every officer, who has already enlisted or who shall hereafter enlist a soldier in the Regiments now raising in this Colony, shall be entitled to a dollar for each such soldier, who shall pass muster and be received into the service, the officer paying the expense of such enlistment."[9]

On June twenty-eighth, Peter T. Curtenius, as commissary of the Provincial Congress, had been instructed to purchase "on the public credit" various articles of equipment and clothing for the troops already authorized, including "coarse blue broadcloth sufficient to make 712 shortcoats and crimson cloth for cuffs and facings for the said coats. . . ."[10] Citizens in possession of muskets belonging to New York City were instructed to "deliver them to the proper officers at the Baraks" whereupon 434 of them were subsequently turned over to Colonel McDougall's First New York Regiment.[11] In order to facilitate the obtaining of supplies and equipment for the regiment and to pay the necessary costs of recruiting, Colonel McDougall made his own personal funds available and incurred considerable personal debt.

It must be said here that the recruiting, equipping, clothing and sustaining of the new troops was generally slow and tedious. All items of equipment were in short supply and there was a vast difference between authorization to acquire an item and its receipt by the troops. Money for bounties and other recruiting expenses was in many cases non-existant. Petty jealousies and political considerations made matters that much worse. The general situation was summed up on July fifteenth by the New York Committee of Safety in a letter to General Schuyler. "Our troops can be of no service to you; they have no arms, clothes, blankets, or ammunition, the officers no commissions, our treasury no money, ourselves in debt. It is in vain to complain; we will send you soldiers, whenever the men we have raised are entitled to that name."[12]

Under Colonel McDougall's guidance, however, recruiting and equipping of the First New York Regiment proceeded well. A number of captains had been appointed for the First New York and each was expected to recruit a company for the regiment. Not all of them succeeded. Places of "rendezvous" were designated from which each of the captains carried on his recruiting activities, usually a local inn or tavern. Some of the captains recruited from more than one location. Advertisements and broadsides encouraged men to enlist and set forth the advantages. The advertisement for enlistment in the First New York Regiment which appeared in the New York Journal on Thursday, July twenty-seventh was one example.[13]

> "The following Gentlemen appointed Captains, by the Provincial Congress, for the inlistment of volunteers, to enter into service, for the defence of the Liberties of America, in the first Battallion to be raised in the City of New York, under the command of Colonels M Dougal, and Ritzema, have thought proper to make public, the following places of rendezvous, and the encouragement to volunteers Captain John Weissenvelt, and Capt. Gershom Mott, at Mr. Foster Lewis's, innholder, near Beekman's slip. Captain Willet, at Mr. Abraham Van Dyck's, innholder in the Broadway. Captain Jacob Cheesman, at Mr. John Rutter's, in Cherry street. Capt. Samuel Broome, at Mr. Foster Lewis's. Capt. John Quackenbos, at Mr. Abraham Van Dyck's, Mr. Edward Bardin's Chapel street, innholder, and Mr. Foster Lewis's. Capt. John Johnson, at Mr. Edward Bardin's. Capt. William Goforth, at Mr. Abraham Van Dyck's, Captain Lieutenant John Copp, acting in the absence of Capt. Richard Vaarick, private Secretary to General Schuyler, at Capt. Josiah Banks, in Little Dock street, near the Exchange, and at Mr. William Mariner's, in Horse and Cart street, innholders. Capt. Van Wyck, at Mr. Abraham Van Dyck's.
>
> Volunteers, from the time of their inlistment, to enter into immediate pay, at one shilling and eleven pence per day; and also to receive one dollar per week, until they are encamped in order to enable them to support themselves in the intermediate time; and they are likewise to be provided with a suit of regimental clothes, a firelock, ammunition, accoutrements, and every other article necessary for the equipment of American Soldiers God save the Congresses."

As more men joined and the companies of the regiment began to fill up, the new recruits were marched and drilled in the streets and on the common. Initially the men had to content themselves with their civilian clothes. However, it was not long before the companies of the First New York began to appear in their blue shortcoats faced with red, waistcoats and breeches of Russian drilling and black felt hats cocked up. Indeed, the new troops took on a much improved appearance. Colonel McDougall's political prominence, his facility for getting things done and the liberal use of his personal resources were largely responsible for the regiment's success in recruiting and in obtaining uniforms and equipment. The success achieved by McDougall in organizing the regiment was later commended by John Jay — "Your alacrity in raising and arming your troops last summer is compared with the tediousness and slow moving of others."[14]

A good number of recruits for the First New York were enlisted from the extremely poor segments of New York City and its environs including Long Island. They were often inclined to be undisciplined and not readily given to regimentation of any kind. Undoubtedly, the promise of regular pay, no matter how nominal, had an appeal. The further inducement of an enlistment bounty made the appeal that much stronger. Having enlisted, however, the new recruits were quick to become discontented and unruly when pay was not received on time and there was doubt as to whether it would be received at all or when supplies and equipment were not immediately available or when things just did not go according to plan. This is not to indicate that this same feeling and condition was not generally prevalent in most other units, both of New York troops as well as the troops of the other colonies.

The Regimental Return of August 1, 1775 indicated Colonel McDougall's success in recruiting and showed a total of five hundred nineteen officers and men already mustered.[15] This left a total of two hundred thirty-six "Rank and File" wanting to bring the regiment up to full strength. In the absence of Captain Varick, who had been appointed private Secretary to General Schuyler, Lieutenent John Copp was busy carrying on the recruiting efforts of the company. The following rostra indicates the arrangement of the Officers in the regiment on August first with the exception of Reverend Israel Evans who was appointed Chaplain to the First New York on August third, Ensign Peter Vergereau who was appointed on October twenty-first, and Joseph Marvin who was appointed on August thirtieth.[16]

Field Officers		*Date of Commission*
Colonel	Alexander McDougall	30 June 1775
Lieutenant Colonel	Rudolphus Ritzema	30 June 1775
Major	Herman Zedtwitz	15 July 1775
Adjutant	John Brogdon	30 June 1775
Quarter Master	William Tapp	5 July 1775
Chaplain	Israel Evans	3 August 1775
Surgeon	John L. Lynn	28 June 1775
1st Surgeon's Mate	Hunlock Woodruff	21 July 1775
2nd Surgeon's Mate	Joseph Marvin	30 August 1775
	FIRST COMPANY	
Captain	Frederick Weissenfel	28 June 1775
1st Lieutenant	John A. McDougall	28 June 1775
2nd Lieutenant	Richard Platt	?
	SECOND COMPANY	
Captain	Marinus Willett	28 June 1775
1st Lieutenant	William Gilleland	28 June 1775
2nd Lieutenant	Leonard Bleeker	28 June 1775
	THIRD COMPANY	
Captain	John Johnson	28 June 1775
1st Lieutenant	William Brown	28 June 1775
2nd Lieutenant	Abraham Brasher	28 June 1775
	FOURTH COMPANY	
Captain	William Goforth	28 June 1775
1st Lieutenant	James W. Payne	28 June 1775
2nd Lieutenant	Ranald S. McDougall	28 June 1775
	FIFTH COMPANY	
Captain	Jacob Cheesman	5 July 1775
1st Lieutenant	Aaron Aorson	28 June 1775
2nd Lieutenant	John Houston	28 June 1775
	SIXTH COMPANY	
Captain	Richard Varick	28 June 1775
1st Lieutenant	John Copp	?
2nd Lieutenant	Daniel Gano	28 June 1775

	SEVENTH COMPANY	
Captain	Gershom Mott	28 June 1775
1st Lieutenant	Benjamin Pelton	28 June 1775
2nd Lieutenant	Timothy Hughes	28 June 1775
	EIGHTH COMPANY	
Captain	John Quackenbos	28 June 1775
1st Lieutenant	John Pearcy	28 June 1775
2nd Lieutenant	Garret Van Waggenon	?
	NINTH COMPANY	
Captain	Benjamin Ledyard	18 July 1775
1st Lieutenant	Digby Odlum	?
2nd Lieutenant	James M. Hughes	22 July 1775
Ensign	Peter Vergereau	21 October 1775
	TENTH COMPANY	
Captain	David Lyon	14 July 1775
1st Lieutenant	Mathias Clarke	?
2nd Lieutenant	John Beekman	28 June 1775

Each of Colonel McDougall's sons were officers in the regiment: John, a first lieutenant in Captain Weissenfel's Company and Ranald, a second lieutenant in Captain Goforth's Company. Both Major Zedtwitz and Captain Weissenfel were foreign adherents to the Colonial cause whose military background and experience qualified them for positions of command.

The number of soldiers—"Rank and File"—in each company on August first, as illustrated below, gives some indication as to the effectiveness of the individual companies:[17]

Captain Weissenfel's	37
Captain Willett's	47
Captain Johnson's	27
Captain Goforth's	51
Captain Cheesman's	56
Captain Varick's	11
Captain Mott's	53
Captain Quackenbos's	60
Captain Ledyard's	25
Captain Lyon's	67

As time went on, soldiers were often drafted from one company into another as needed. During September, while the company was at Fort Ticonderoga, nineteen soldiers from Captain Goforth's Company were drafted into other companies.[18] This, however, still left sixty-six privates in the company. Likewise, nineteen were also drafted from Captain Quackenbos' company leaving fifty-one still in that company.[19] In the weeks ahead, drafts were made on those companies still at Fort Ticonderoga to fill the ranks of the companies of the regiment which had already proceeded North enroute to Canada. Changes were also made in the assignments of some officers and it should be noted that Lieutenant John Copp was subsequently transferred from Captain Varick's Company into Captain Mott's Company.[20]

The matter of the Canadian invasion, having previously been agreed upon, a staging area for the troops gathering for the campaign was established at Half Moon, just north of Albany. From Half Moon, the course was to be north to the logical starting point for the journey to Canada, Fort Ticonderoga. On August 8th, barely six weeks after the raising of the troops, four companies of the First New York Regiment "under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema are embarked for Albany completely equipped."[21] The four companies of the regiment arrived in Albany at 3:00 A.M. on August 10th, disembarked and immediately marched to Half Moon where they were encamped by 9:00 A.M. the same morning. Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema expressed his pleasure with the regiment and indicated that "the march was a good seasoning to our young soldiers, from the excessive rain and the gentel wading thro' the sprouts—this was no unpleasing sight. The men in good health and of good appearance."[22] General Schuyler's comments gave an interesting insight into the makeup of the regiment and some of the problems encountered:

> "Fourteen of Colonel Ritzema's men have already deserted since his arrival at Half Moon and I believe he will loose many more before he reaches Ticonderoga. If those gone are like some that remain, we have gained by their going off."[23]

Tents at Half Moon were struck on August fifteenth and the regiment marched to Stillwater; on the seventeenth, to Saratoga; and, on the nineteenth, to Fort Edward, "having been detained in an extraordinary manner from the want of wagons. . . ."[24] August twentieth saw the First New York on "to Skeensborough without our tents—these and the baggage being sent under an escort to Fort George in order to be sent to Ticonderoga—our rout this way being caused by the want of boats at Lake George."[25] The initial companies of the First New York arrived at Fort Ticonderoga on August twenty-first. Some dismay was registered by the men of the regiment, as well as the Lieutenant Colonel himself, that "everything bore an unmilitary appearance—the fortifications in ruins and not repairing."[26]

The expedition against Canada left Ticonderoga in good spirits on August twenty-eighth with Montreal as their prime objective. The troops were under the command of General Richard Montgomery and consisted primarily of the four companies of the First New York Regiment, Waterbury's Connecticut regiment and Mott's artillery company, about 1,200 men in all.[27] Colonel McDougall's two sons, John and Ranald, were in the expedition. The course was to be by boat up Lake Champlain past Ille Aux Noix to St. Johns, a small fortified settlement and the only real block in the path to Montreal. After being in the boats for about four hours, at ten o'clock that night, the regiment was "obliged to disembark occasioned by the darkness of the night and the hard rain."[28] The necessity of laying in the woods all night without tents severely dampened the otherwise exuberant spirits of the men. Next day the expedition arrived at Crown Point where conditions were again described as "everything in ruins and confusion abounding."[29] High winds and bad weather detained the expedition for several days before the batteaus could once again take to the Lake and head for Ille Aux Noix. Captain Mott's company of the regiment, having been recently recruited to full strength, came up from Ticonderoga on September fourth. Major Zedtwitz of the First New York arrived the same day. By September sixth, the Americans had reached St. Johns. Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema describes the arrival of the First New York. "About 3 of the clock P.M. we landed within a mile & a half of St. Johns Fort under the Command of General Montgomery, General Schuyler being unwell remained with a guard in his Batteau—coming down the river several shots were fired at us from the Fort without doing us any hurt.—Having marched about a quarter of a mile thro' the woods and marshes we were attacked by a large body of Indians & Regulars in ambush, who killed 9 of our men & wounded as many more. After firing about 15 minutes the Indians etc. returned into the Fort. We killed 7 Indians and wounded 15. . . . In the evening several shells thrown at us from the Fort, which induced the general to order the men to reimbark (tho' they had built a pretty good breast work) & go a mile & a half higher up the River to be free from the shells, etc.—here the men again disembarked & made another breast work."[30]

On September tenth, an attempt was made to take the fort. Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema with a contingent of the First New York, marched "round the Fort" in order to "occupy the road leading from the Fort towards Chamblee in order to cut off the enemy's communication with the country."[31] The assault was unsuccessful and during the encounter some of the new and unseasoned troops tended to panic and flee. The "first division" of New Yorkers under the command of Captain Weissenfel of the First New York spent some time "attempting with fixt bayonets to stop the New England Men in their flight, but in vain, for they made their way thro' the water up to their waists."[32] Several unsuccessful attempts were made to capture the fort and with the arrival of additional troops, a siege was initiated which was to last fifty-five days.

On September twenty-first, Captain Goforth's and Captain Quackenbos' Companies joined the five companies of the regiment already on the scene.

It was agreed that Chambly (Fort Chamblee), a very modestly fortified settlement north of St. Johns, was to be taken before the siege at St. Johns was completed. Accordingly, 300 men and one nine-pounder were sent to the attack which was brought to a successful conclusion on October eighteenth. Chambly yielded "83 privates 100 women & children of the 7th Regiment—124 barrels of powder, 6000 cartridges, six Royals & a large quantity of provisions & military stores."[33] Captain Willett and his company of the First New York, having arrived only a short time previously, were assigned to escort the prisoners to Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema's entries in his Journal are indicative of the activities of the First New York during the seige at St. Johns:

> "October 9th—Captain Weisenfels erected a two gun battery of four pounders on the East Shore opposite the Fort
>
> October 24th—Captain Varick's Company of our Regiment joined us—no firing from our side this day—many dead shot from the Fort in our camp
>
> October 25th—St. Crispins Day—One of Captain Mott's men killed and another wounded in their tent by a dead shot
>
> October 28th—Our Regiment and Waterbury's with Lamb's Artillery Company marched around the Fort to the North side of it to join the rest of the army there . . .
>
> October 29th—In the evening I was ordered with 200 men to erect a Battery within 250 yards of the Fort—In the morning the Breast Work & Ambresurs compleated—The Fort kept a heavy fire upon us all night—but happily no lives lost"

As the siege wore on, conditions became progressively worse. The weather was becoming colder and the rain was turning the entire operation into a soggy mess. The camp was on low, swampy ground and the men were wet most of the time. Supplies of all kinds were short. The men were on half rations. There was not enough powder. Sickness was widespread among the men. Discontent and sullenness bordering on mutiny was the mood of the troops.

All this seemed to emphasize another situation which had been plaguing General Montgomery for weeks: the jealousy and distrust between the New York and New England regiments. This feeling was not restricted to the soldiers alone but extended into the ranks of the higher officers. The New Englanders were fearful that the New Yorkers gain all the advantages and favorable positions. At the same time, Montgomery and many of the New York officers felt that the "democratic attitude" of the New Englanders eroded the authority of the officers and that the men had to be catered to in order to get the job done.[34] While a New Yorker himself, Montgomery's ire at some of the men from his own province was highlighted by his remark that, "The First Reg^{t} of Yorkers is the sweeping of the York streets."[35]

Finally on November second, St. Johns surrendered to the Americans. The next day as the British laid down their arms, the First New York together with a detachment of the other American regiments present, marched into the fort. "The Yorkers were in uniform. The Connecticut men wore any sort of clothes they happened to have. The Green Mountain Boys wore great coats of green turned up with red."[36] One of the agreements of the capitulation specified that the surrendering British troops were to be given the reserve store of clothing. This proved to be a real bone of contention with the officers of the First New York. According to General Montgomery, "the officers of the First Regiment of Yorkers were very near mutiny . . . There was no driving it into their noddles that the clothing was really the property of the soldiers, that he had paid for it."[37]

On November fifth, Montgomery moved on toward Montreal. Lightly garrisoned, the city surrendered on November thirteenth without resistance. Unlike the experience at St. Johns, the soldiers of the First New York Regiment were the enthusiastic recipients of warm clothing, food and ammunition from the considerable quantities taken at Montreal.

While events had been unfolding in Canada, recruiting and all of the business of raising, training and equipping an army was continuing in the New York City area. Captain Benjamin Ledyard's request to Peter Curtenius, Commissary of Clothing, was typical. "The bearers Duncan McCarty and John Davis having supplied themselves with uniform coats for my Comp^{y} you will please pay them the sum allowed for them."[38] The progress of the First New York was reported by the Provincial Congress to the New York delegates at the Continental Congress on October fourth:

> "Eight companies of the 1st or Col. McDougall's Regiment, compleately appointed, are now in actual service in the Northern Department. The 9th Company is ready, compleately armed and equipped, and wind and weather permitting will sail for Albany to-morrow. The 10th Company will be armed and equipped and we hope ready to depart next week. The first detachment of this Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema had proceeded as far as Half Moon before the 10th of August."[39]

The integral part played by Colonel McDougall in the affairs of the Provincial Congress, of which he was a member, was responsible for his absence from the regiment. As the Colonel explained, "The temper of the colony was such, in and out of town, that induced many of the members of the Congress, best affected to the cause of the Country, to insist on my staying to assist them and Mr. Jay also advised me not to quit the City in that state of Public affairs . . . Certain it is I should never have taken the charge of the Regiment if I had apprehended I should be detained here."[40] To the troops in Canada, Colonel McDougall was conspicuous by his absence from the scene of action. This was a fact much lamented by McDougall.

In a letter from Montreal on November fifteenth, Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema advised McDougall that they planned to move on to Quebec in about ten days. For McDougall personally, the letter relayed a bitter message.

> "Your son, poor Jack, died this day night at La Prairie after a few days illness of a billious fever. He was buried the same day in the Church Yard of that Town with military honors; his corpse was attended to the grave by every officer of his own Corps and by many others of different corps. . . . I sincerely condole with you in your loss."[41]

On November twenty-eighth, Captain Weissenfel's and Captain Cheesman's Companies of the First New York embarked for Quebec with the force under General Montgomery. On the same day Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema recorded in his journal. "The six months for which the men of our Regiment were enlisted being nearly expired, agreeable to general orders they were enlisted anew to the 15th of April next."[42] At the request of General Wooster, Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema remained in Montreal "to assist in the duty of the garrison." Mott's, Varick's and Quackenbos' Companies of the Regiment embarked on December first "on board another of our Prize Vessels" to join General Montgomery. With them was Major Zedtwitz who had become the senior officer of the First New York on the expedition.

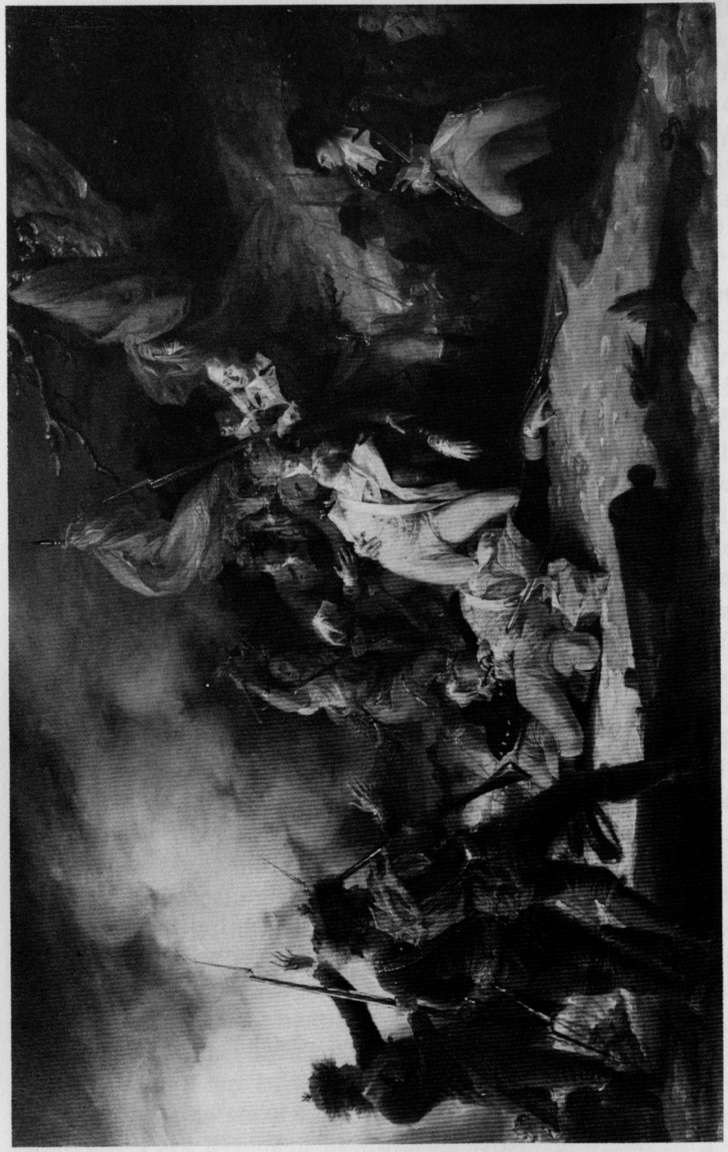
On December second, Montgomery arrived at Quebec. After three weeks of trying to induce Carleton to surrender, it was decided to mount a frontal assault on the city. "Montgomery was to lead the 1st New York along the low ground at the foot of Cape Diamond, strike the southern end of the Lower Town, and meet Arnold, the combined forces then to drive into the Upper Town."[43] The officers were all aware of the desperate nature of a frontal assault. Even the mood of the men seemed to be characterized by a sense of foreboding. One of the aides to General Montgomery, Captain Jacob Cheesman of the First New York, with a premonition that he might not survive the coming conflict, "dressed himself . . . extremely neat and putting five gold pieces in his pocket, said that would be sufficient to bury him with decency."[44]

In the early hours of the morning on December 31, 1775, the attack began in a raging snow storm. Montgomery led about 300 men of the First New York Regiment in a descent from the Plains of Abraham to Wolf's Cove along the St. Lawrence River. The path down to Wolfe's Cove was narrow, steep and drifted high with snow. The going was extremely difficult. Having finally reached the river, the next two miles

to Cape Diamond proved to be worse. Huge pieces of ice had been piled up on the narrow road by the high tides. The men slipped, slid and fell. Carrying the cumbersome scaling ladders made progress that much slower and exhausting. A barricade of pointed wooden posts was overcome with the use of saws. In the faint dawn, a blockhouse loomed up in front of the advancing troops. A momentary halt and no sign of activity from the blockhouse prompted Montgomery to urge on the New Yorkers. While many were still struggling with the condition of the road, the troops proceeded to within about forty paces of the blockhouse. At this moment, there came from within the blockhouse a thunderous blast of musket fire plus the roar of a battery of three pounders charged with grapeshot.[45] The ranks of the First New York were torn apart. General Montgomery was killed instantly. Captain Cheesman died seconds later. A sergeant and eleven men of the First New York lay dead in the snow.[46] The remainder, including a number of wounded, struggled back over the ice-strewn road to Wolfe's Cove. Command of Captain Cheesman's company fell to First Lieutenant Aaron Aorson. During January and February 1776, while the Company was to remain "in Cantonment before Quebec,"[47] Second Lieutenant John Houston and several privates were "on Command at Point Levy"[48] on the heights across the river from Quebec.

Montgomery's attack had failed. Arnold's assault from the opposite direction was to meet the same fate. The British took four hundred twenty-six prisoners. Those soldiers of the First New York captured by the enemy, included Colonel McDougall's son Ranald, second Lieutenant in Captain Goforth's company.

In anticipation of laying siege to the city in the spring, the Americans moved back, set up winter quarters and lay on their arms. Even though the re-enlistment in all units had taken place in substantial numbers in November, Montgomery's timing and his decision to attack was influenced by expiring enlistments and his fear that the troops would just go home.[49] In the late spring of 1776, the appearance of Burgoyne's Army on the St. Lawrence and the wretched condition of the troops influenced the Americans to completely abandon further operations in Canada and return home.



The *Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec* (December 31, 1776) by John Trumbull. The figure at the feet of the wounded Montgomery was described by Trumbull as bearing the likeness of Captain Jacob Cheesman of the First New York Regiment.

Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery.

TWO

1776

Contingents of the First New York Regiment remained in Canada until April of 1776 when enlistments were again about to run out. On March 31st, Colonel McDougall was advised from Montreal that "Many of the Army are returning home, their times are out and I fear they cannot be prevailed on to stay."[1] The Canadian campaign was over insofar as the First New York was concerned, and the remaining companies of the regiment returned to New York City.

It should be noted that the four "new" regiments authorized to be raised in January 1776 (generally referred to as the Second Establishment) were in effect a continuation of the same four regiments authorized in June 1775. Technically, these regiments had to be reorganized or reestablished when their enlistments expired at the end of the year. Some confusion was created by the shifting and realigning of officers from one regiment to another.[2] This was brought about because it was the intent of the Provincial Congress and those charged with the responsibility of reorganization to give preference in the matter of rank and command to those officers who had served in the recent Canadian campaign. With relatively few exceptions, the terms and conditions of enlistment in January 1776 were similar to those which prevailed in June 1775. In the reorganization of the First New York, Colonel McDougall continued as commander of the regiment. Herman Zedtwitz, Major in the First New York, was promoted to lieutenant colonel and replaced Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema, who was elevated to the rank of colonel and given command of the Third New York Regiment.[3] On April twelfth, regimental orders indicated that Joseph Benedict had been appointed major of the regiment and "was to be obeyed as such."[4] More changes were to take place in the officer ranks of the regiment during 1776 than in any other single year over the entire existence of the First New York. From January to July, many officers served for only a very short time. Benjamin Lyburn, second lieutenant in Captain John Wiley's Company, who was appointed on February twenty-fourth and left the regiment on March twenty-fifth, is but one typical example.[5] Reasons for the short service were varied. Some officers were unable to raise the requisite number of men. Some officers were appointed to higher positions in other regiments, and some who were appointed declined to serve for whatever were their personal reasons. A number of the officers of the First New York found themselves in a similar position to that of Benjamin Pelton, ''who served as a Lieutenant in the First Regiment last year, was at the taking of St. John's and in the attack of Quebeck under General Montgomery, returned from thence in May, to late for any other commission. . . .''[6]

By July, however, the rostra of officers of the First New York was fairly well complete and the following ''Return of Officers,'' signed by Colonel McDougall, indicates those officers who had served with the First New York during 1775 together with those new names added to the list:[7]

Name	*Date of Commission*
Field Officers	
Colonel: Alexander McDougall	30 June 1775
Lieutenant Colonel: Herman Zedtwitz	8 March 1776
Major: Barnabus Tuttle	30 June 1775
Staff Officers	
Chaplain: Israel Evans	1 June 1776
Adjutant: Andrew Taylor	18 March 1776
Quartermaster: Joseph Carr	1 May 1776
Surgeon: Benjamin Curtis	1 March 1776
Mate: Isaac Ledyard	20 March 1776
Captains	
John Johnston (Johnson)	28 June 1775
Richard Varick	28 June 1775
Benjamin Ledyard	28 June 1775
David Lyon	28 June 1775
Abrm. Van Wyck	24 February 1776
John Wyley (Wiley)	24 February 1776
Ezediel Hait (Ezekiel Hyatt)	25 April 1776
Cornelius Steinrod (Stenrod)	27 April 1776
Ambrose Horton	28 June 1776
First Lieutenants	
Leonard Bleecker (Bleeker)	14 May 1776
William A. Forbes	24 February 1776
James M. Hughes	24 February 1776
Benjamin Walker	24 February 1776
Abra'm Banker	24 February 1776
John Johnston (Johnson)	24 February 1776
Caleb Holby (Hobby)	25 April 1776
Isaac Titus	27 April 1776
Thomas Le Foy	28 March 1776
Second Lieutenants	
Henry Tiebout	24 February 1776
Arant Van Hook	24 February 1776
Peter Vergereau	24 February 1776
Cornelius Beeker	24 February 1776
William Tapp	13 June 1776
William D. Tripp	24 April 1776

Joseph De Groot	25 April 1776
Andrew Taylor	18 June 1776
William Dunn	30 March 1776
Ensigns	
Theodosius Fowler	24 February 1776
James Fairly	24 February 1776
(Vacant)	
James Bonnell	26 February 1776
W. W. De Peyster	24 February 1776
Samuel Young	24 February 1776
Isaac Pioneer	25 April 1776
Benjamin Jones	27 April 1776
(Vacant)	

In addition to the obvious errors in spelling, some explanation of the above ''Return'' is necessary particularly insofar as the ''Date of Commission'' is concerned. As indicated, some officers were appointed in 1775 and continued to serve in the regiment during 1776: namely Captains Johnson, Ledyard and Lyon. Although he had been appointed Secretary to General Schuyler, Captain Varick was still carried on the rostra. First Lieutenants Leonard Bleeker and James M. Hughes had both served with the First New York during 1775 as second lieutenants; and the ''Date of Commission'' set opposite their names indicates the dates they were officially reappointed as first lieutenants although there was no interruption of their service in the regiment.

Second Lieutenant Peter Vergereau had served in the First New York as an ensign in Captain Ledyard's Company during 1775. Being appointed second lieutenant on February twenty-fourth, he continued to serve in the regiment. Second Lieutenant William Tapp had served as quarter master of the First New York during 1775. Replaced in this staff position by Joseph Carr on May first, Tapp also continued to serve as a second lieutenant in the regiment.

Of the staff officers listed, only Chaplain Israel Evans had seen service with the First New York during 1775.

During the five weeks following the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz, before Major Benedict was named, Captain Benjamin Ledyard ''being the Eldest Captain of the Regiment in Town fit for Duty,'' was directed ''to act as Major of the Regiment.''[8] Major Joseph Benedict was one of those officers whose service with the regiment was very brief. Less than two months after his appointment had been announced on April twelfth, he was replaced by Barnabus Tuttle of Suffolk County. Major Tuttle's appointment was made known in the regimental orders of May thirty-first.[9] Before Major Tuttle could join the First New York, however, Captain John Johnson, having returned to the regiment and replacing Captain Ledyard as the eldest captain, was directed to act as major of the First New York.[10] This arrangement was of short duration as Major Tuttle joined the regiment only five days after Captain Johnson had been directed to act in that capacity.

Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz had been promoted and reappointed on March eighth. By April nineteenth, he was once again with the regiment in New York City.

Some time was to elapse before newly appointed Adjutant Andrew Taylor could assume his new duties. In the meantime, First Lieutenant Benjamin Walker was designated "to act as Adjutant."[11] While acting in this capacity, one of the tasks given to Lieutenant Walker was "to procure Orderly Books for each Company in the regiment, and to give one of them to a Serjeant of each Company, who will come to the Quarters of the Adjutant at 9 o'clock in the morning and at Seven in the afternoon for orders."[12] Orderly books provided an important vehicle for disseminating orders and instructions to the troops. Each sergeant was to bring his company orderly book with him when reporting to the adjutant at the times indicated. Orders were entered therein and subsequently read to the soldiers at parade or roll call. In addition, the orders were thereby on hand in each company for ready reference by the Officers. The procedure, however, had its faults. In some cases, the sergeants became dilatory and failed to report to the adjutant or forgot to bring the orderly book with them or orders were incorrectly entered or the book was misplaced or lost. If the company commander did not see to it that instructions were followed, in many instances, little or no attention was paid to the maintenance and use of the orderly books. This was particularly true in Captain Hyatt's and Captain Stenrod's Companies and eight weeks after the instructions to Lieutenant Walker, these two companies of the regiment were still without orderly books.[13]

It was Colonel McDougall's belief that none but the best possible men should be appointed to officer positions in the regiment. From a practical viewpoint, he was particularly desirous of nominating, as officers, such men "as would probably be able to raise men to recruit the Regiment." Not being satisfied with the available candidates, it was noted on the regimental return that, "The Colonel declines naming persons for Ensigns to fill up the two vacancies."[14]

Keeping the First New York up to full strength was a major problem. We have seen that as their time of service expired some of the men were persuaded to reenlist. Concurrently, there were always those soldiers who, for one reason or another, were discharged. From January through the end of March, while some companies of the regiment remained in Canada, a number of men of the First New York received their discharge. They were entitled to expense money for the trip home. In Captain John Johnson's Company alone, for the period from February twenty-fourth through March thirty-first, this amounted to fifty-four pounds, ten pence. In his receipt for the funds, Captain Johnson indicated that the "Cash Advance" received was payment "in full for the allowance made to the men of my Company from the place of their respective discharge to the City of New York where they were originally rased."[15] However, with McDougall's close supervision, the regiment was comparatively successful in its recruiting efforts which were carried on with constant vigor. In addition to the civilian population, both the militia and the minutemen provided a source of recruits for the regiment. Recruiting officers were instructed to "inlist from the militia such able bodied men as are willing to serve during the campaign."[16] The Provincial Congress had instructed the commanding officers of the militia and corps of minutemen to permit the recruiting officers of the line regiments to "enlist any men they can out of the said Minute Regiments; and that the said Recruiting Officers be permitted to take such men, as they may so enlist into their respective Corps of Continental Troops immediately."[17] Convincing a militiaman that he should enlist in a line regiment was not always easy. The regimental order of March twenty-fourth highlights the prohibition of an interesting practice used to obtain non-commissioned officers. "No officer shall promote a private from another company of the Regiment to an office in a Company in which such private did not first enlist."[18]

Colonel McDougall was continually prodding the officers in their recruiting efforts. Occasionally, he would have to remonstrate with them for a lack of effort, and his orders of March thirty-first were not unusual:[19]

> "The Colonel is greatly mortified to find that Recruiting officers of other Regiments are meeting very great progress in enlisting the minutemen of this Colony, while the officers of his Regiment make little or no advances in enlisting out of these Corps which will soon be discharged and the opportunity lost of enlisting out of them. It is therefore Ordered that the officers acquaint themselves without delay where the Quarters of the minute men are, and to apply themselves with their utmost address without exception to enlist those men to complete their respective Companies."

An individual could still obtain a commission in a line regiment by enlisting the required number of men. The proceedings of the Provincial Congress on May thirteenth, referring to the First New York Regiment, indicate "that if the said Leonard Bleecker does actually enlist and be ready to join the Regiment with 25 men in three weeks from this day the date thereof that he will be entitled to a First Lieutenant Commission."

The regimental return of April twenty-sixth showed the total complement of the First New York to be three hundred forty-five officers and men or somewhat less than half-strength.[20] Captain Lyon's and Captain Ledyard's companies being the only companies even near full-strength. Captain Brown's and Captain Willett's companies showed only twelve privates each. Thirty-three men had been enlisted since last month; seven discharged and forty-seven deserted.

When the returns of Captain Brown's company and Captain Willet's company were examined on May ninth, little or no progress was noted. As a result, it was resolved “that they be dismissed and that they be paid for their services from the dates of their respective warrants to this day and their enlisting money for so many effective men as they shall deliver to the Regiment, when they shall have delivered the arms and accoutrements they have received to Capt. John Johnson and that it be recommended to Col. McDougall to add the privates of those two companies to Capt. John Johnson's Company. And it is hereby declared that the above mentioned Gentlemen are not dismissed from any dissatisfactions with their conduct, but with great reluctance from necessity only because they have been so unfortunate in their attempts to recruit their companies.”[21]

It is interesting to note that both Captain Hyatt and Captain Stenrod, in an effort to build up their respective companies, disregarded instructions to enlist men for the war and were enlisting for six and twelve months. Little wonder that Captain Stenrod informed the New York Committee that he could “enlist a Compleat Company of men for the Continental Service in fourteen days.”[22] Both Hyatt and Stenrod were dilatory about other things too, particularly the proper use of orderly books.

The fortifying of New York City and the Hudson Highlands was a major concern as early as November third, last year when, at the bidding of the Provincial Congress, Colonel McDougall sent a company of the First New York under Captain Benjamin Ledyard “up to the said fortifications.” On December fourteenth, McDougall reported that Captain Ledyard and his company had “come down from the Fort in the Highlands” and had been assigned to regular garrison duty in the City.[23]

As time went on, more and more emphasis was placed upon the speedy completion of the various fortifications and the maintaining of the city in a state of readiness at all times. Orders such as the following were commonplace:[24]

> “Regimental Orders—February 10, 1776
>
> Captain Ledyard's Company to stay in quarters after retreat, see that their arms and ammunition are in good order, ready to turn out at a minutes warning.
>
> Headquarters—New York—March 14, 1776
>
> 100,000 musket cartridges made up and put into boxes of 1,000 each to be ready to deliver to the Regiments as occasion may require.

> Headquarters—New York—March 29, 1776
>
> Troops off duty to Parade tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock at the Grand Parade before Trinity Church in order to go on fatigue.
>
> Headquarters—New York—April 16, 1776
>
> If the British troops which evacuated Boston or any part of them are destined for this place their arrival may very soon be expected. The Engineers and overseers of the works are therefore to use every possible dispatch in completing them.”

Each regiment had its assigned alarm post in the event of an attack upon the city. At the sounding of the alarm (two cannon shots from Fort George at the lower tip of Manhattan), the First New York was “to assemble in the front of Trinity Church and wait till further orders.”[25] From time to time, alarm posts were changed and subsequently Colonel McDougall's regiment was ordered to take a position “at the Hospital” in case of attack.[26] The First New York bore its share of the regular guard duty for patrolling the streets at night, guarding the shore posts and installations and performing all of the usual tasks in maintaining the security of a garrison city. “The guard of one hundred men which was ordered to do duty this evening at the lower barracks be dismissed”[27]—“Field Officer for tomorrow Colonel McDougall.”[28] These were typical of the daily routine. Always well-received by the soldiers of the First New York was the order of March third: “None of the Regiment to do duty tomorrow.”[29]

Along the Hudson River, one of the batteries of artillery in the city was assigned to Colonel McDougall, commander of the First New York. It was located “on the high ground in the rear and to the South of Trinity Church . . . on the line of the present Rector Street.”[30] One of the more substantial batteries in the city, it mounted four 32 pounders and two 12 pounders. Twenty-six men were required to man the pieces; two commissioned officers, four non-commissioned officers and twenty privates.[31] Almost all of the privates were soldiers from the First New York and were carried on the weekly regimental returns as “On Command” with the artillery.[32] This pattern was not unusual and General Washington summed up the situation in his remark that “. . . we are obliged to draft upwards of Six hundred Men from different Regiments to Assist the Artillery.”[33]

Drill, exercise and parades were all a part of garrison life. Under the military standards of the day, drill and formation on the field were of prime importance. The ability of the officers to control the movements of the men and to elicit a prompt and accurate response to commands often spelled the difference between success or failure. The well-exercised and expertly-drilled English and Hessian troops, which the First New York and the entire American army were to continue to face, made all-out efforts in this direction mandatory. Colonel McDougall had long been of the opinion that "the utmost attention should be paid to drilling and exercising the men."[34] Rarely did a day go by without the usual exercise and the soldiers were accustomed to the fact that, "The Regiment will be called out to exercise at five o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon when every officer not on duty out of the Camp will attend—Such officers as are unacquainted with the exercise to be taught without delay—And an officer of every company will be appointed by the Adjutant to exercise the Sergeants and Corporals of the Company to which he belongs."[35] Colonel McDougall was particularly concerned with the frequent complaint of the ". . . inattention of the Sergeants and Corpls to their Duty. . . ."[36] Adjutant Andrew Taylor was instructed to confine every sergeant or corporal of the First New York ". . . who shall Disobey orders or neglect his duty. . . ."[37] As a deterrent to dilatory behavior, the Colonel insisted that a regimental court-martial sit every Tuesday for the trial of such non-commissioned officers of the regiment as might be brought before it. Expressing his feelings in this connection and emphasizing the importance he placed upon non-commissioned officers, Colonel McDougall explained that "as no Regiment can be Discplind or in Good order with the non Commissiond Officers do their Duty . . . the Court Marcial before whom any of the non Commissiond officers may be Brought will pay particular attention to their fines and reduce such of them to the Ranks whose Demerit shall Render it Necessary for the Service."[38]

The insignia of rank on the officer's uniforms still presented somewhat of a problem. Previously General Washington had directed the officers of the army to wear different colored cockades in their hats as a distinction of rank; field officers, red; captains, yellow; and subalterns, green. Compliance with the Commander-in-Chief's order was not as universal as might have been desired. With some regularity, General Washington had to remind the officers that, without exception, he expected all of them to conform and that colors other than those designated were not acceptable. It is not difficult to visualize the confusion which would most certainly result from the lack of cockades or the use of unauthorized colors on the hats of the officers.

The commons (present day City Hall Park) was the usual place for drilling and exercising the troops and for most parades. It was here, on the commons, that the citizens gathered to hear fiery speeches from various patriots. Public executions were conducted here and it was on the commons that the liberty pole had been erected, attended by festivities and merrymaking. April twenty-seventh was just one instance when Colonel McDougall's Regiment was ordered to "parade on Monday morning at ten o'clock upon the parade common to be reviewed."[39]

The regimental parade for Sunday, March twenty-fourth was "to be at

the Colonel's Door.[40] The Roll to be called there at 7 o'clock in the morning and at 5 in the afternoon when no officer or private is to absent himself, and to appear clean and in a soldierly manner."[41] Fifes and drums provided the military music of the time. More important, the beat of the drum provided the only means of conveying commands to the troops. As did all of the line regiments, the First New York had its compliment of fifers and drummers, usually one of each to a Company. The fife and drum major of the regiment was responsible for providing instruction for drummers and fifers—"in rooms in the suburbs."[42]

The commissary of the colony's stores had been ordered to "deliver to Col. McDougall such arms and accoutrements from time to time in store as he shall direct for the troops."[43] Nevertheless, the "Pressing Call for Arms . . ." in the First New York rendered it absolutely necessary that the Regimental ". . . Armourers and assistants should work Everyday Lords Day not Excepted. . . ."[44] Colonel McDougall had proven resourceful in arming and supplying the regiment and took every opportunity to see to the care of the equipment. His order of May twenty-sixth is a typical example: "Such Companies as have more arms than men fit for duty, are to deliver them to the quarter master and take his receipt to prevent their arms being lost or abused."[45] Bayonets were difficult to obtain and every soldier who had a musket did not necessarily have a bayonet. There being no such thing as interchangeable parts, the bayonet from one musket rarely fit another. Indeed, it was incumbent upon those soldiers who had a bayonet to hold onto it! It became the duty of the Adjutant to see that every private reporting for guard duty appeared with his bayonet; "if he had one. . . ."[46]

No sooner had the Regiment returned to New York City from Canada than the price of almost everything began to rise. As more and more troops joined the army in the city, the demand for supplies of all kinds soon outstripped the available supply. The care and preservation of existing items became extremely important. Company commanders were instructed by Colonel McDougall that whenever men from their companies were discharged, the officers were to "secure the Arms and Cloaths belonging to the Regiment."[47] The captains of the First New York were particularly encouraged to purchase leather breeches and shirts, strong shoes and knee buckles at wholesale.[48] While the First New York was relatively well-supplied with regimental coats and uniforms, orders were conveyed "to those Corps which are not already Supplyed with Uniforms to provide Hunting Shirts for their men."[49]

"Having given a general order to Commissary Curtenius to deliver to the Commissioned Officers of each Company, Frocks and Haversacks . . .", Colonel McDougall indicated further that, ". . . the commanding officer of each company will therefore provide every man in his company with those articles. . . .''[50] His orders were explicit: ''No private who has a uniform frock to appear without it.''[51]

While keenly concerned that the army should take on a soldierly appearance, no one was more aware of the difficulty in obtaining uniforms and clothing than General Washington himself. A note from his orderly book on July twenty-eighth indicated that, ''The General being sensible of the difficulty and expense of providing cloaths of almost any kind for the troops, felt an unwillingness to recommend, much less to order, any kind of uniform, but as it is absolutely necessary that men should have Cloaths and appear decent and tight, he earnestly encourages the use of hunting shirts with long breeches made of the same cloth, gaiter fashion about the legs, to all those yet unprovided. No dress can be cheaper, nor more convenient, as the wearer may be cool in warm weather and warm in cool by putting on undercloaths which will not change the outward dress, Winter or Summer. Besides which it is a dress justly supposed to carry no small terror to the enemy, who think every such person a complete marksman.''[52]

Colonel McDougall constantly addressed himself to the personal appearance and grooming of the soldiers of the regiment and urged company officers to do the same. Attendance at religious services was usually the occasion for some additional effort to improve the appearance of the soldiers. Regimental orders often contained such instructions as ''Captain Ledyard's Company to parade tomorrow morning cleanly dressed to attend devine service.''[53] Guard duty also called for special attention to the appearance of the men and the adjutant was instructed to take particular care that the guards come on clean shaved and decently dressed.[54] It was common practice for the ''barbers of the Regiment to be exempt from duty to cut the men's hair and shave them.''[55] The manner in which the various items of uniform were worn had some bearing on the appearance of the soldiers. Hats were often the object of the Colonel's attention and more than once he instructed the company commanders of the First New York ''to Prevent the Men wearing Sloutched Hats and cause them to Cock their hats Airey and Smart becoming a Soldier.''[56]

The health of the soldiers often dictated the success or failure of a campaign. Smallpox and dysentary, two of the biggest problems, could render a regiment ineffective in no time. The fight against sickness and disease was constant. On March ninth, Benjamin Curtis was appointed surgeon to the First New York and Isaac Ledyard was appointed surgeon's mate.[57] The Regimental Order of April twenty-second was just one instance of the Colonel's attention to an ever present problem. ''The doctors are once more ordered to take up their quarters in the Barracks without delay and to occupy one or more Rooms for the sick men of the Regiment.''[58]

As the companies of the First New York returned from Canada, some were quartered in the Upper barracks which were located to the north of the commons (along Chambers Street where City Hall stands today.)[59] The captains had been advised that as soon as ''Colonel Waterbury's Regiment & the New England Troops have evacuated the Barracks they are to be cleared by the Regiment before the baggage and arms are moved there. . . .''[60] The officers of the regiment were instructed to ''make choice of their rooms'' and seniority in the order of arrangement was to prevail. In the selection of quarters it was understood that ''three of the best Rooms are to be kept for the Field Officers'':[61] Colonel McDougall, Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz and Major Tuttle. As a final admonition, the Colonel made it clear that ''no officer is to sleep out of the barracks.''[62] Instructions to the Barracks Master spelled out exactly what accommodations were to be afforded and indicated:

> ''That the Field Officers of each Corps in this Colony be supplied with one Room; the Captains with the Subalterns of each Company together with the Quarter Master and Adjutant to be entitled to a Room between each two.
>
> The Officers' Rooms of the said Corps to be furnished each with 1 pr. Andirons, 1 pr. Tongs, 1 Table, two Chairs and one Candlestick.
>
> For every Room for Non Commissioned Officers and Soldiers of the said Corps, each room to contain 20 men, 10 Cribs, 10 Bedcases, 10 Boulsters to be filled with straw every three months, 2 Iron Potts; 2 Trammels, 1 pr. Tongs, 1 Wood Axe, 1 Iron Candlestick, 1 Table, 2 Benches and 1 Bucket, and with firewood as follows:
>
> For every Room for Officers Non Commissioned Officers and Privates from the 1st day of Octr. to the 1st April 3-8ths of a Cord of Wood per week for each room so occupied as aforesaid—and for 5 Weeks preceding the 1st Octr. and 5 Weeks after the 1st April 3-16ths of a Cord of Wood pr. week and for the remaining 16 weeks 1-8 of a Cord per week.''[63]

The men were instructed to take care of the barracks furniture at the risk of having to pay for such furniture that might be abused or destroyed. The regimental order of May seventh, regarding certain barracks restrictions may well have come after the fact but indicated a desire to control some aspects of garrison life. ''No woman of ill fame shall be permitted to come into the Barracks on pain of being well watered under a pump and any officer or soldier who shall bring in any such woman will be tried and punished by a court martial.''[64]

Some soliders of the regiment were billeted in houses in the area;[65] particularly men from Captain Ledyard's, Captain Brown's, Captain Varick's and Captain Johnson's companies. In some instances only a few men were involved as was the case with Captain Brown's company. From February twenty-fourth until March thirty-first, only seven officers and men from Captain Brown's Company drew "Subsistence Money" and the total billeting expense for the period was just over twenty-three pounds.[66] On the other hand, for the same period, Captain Johnson's company billeted four officers and twenty-five men for a total expense of thirty-five pounds, eight shillings, five and one half pence.[67] Perhaps the practice of billeting American soldiers in the homes of the local citizenry was somewhat surprising, in light of the quartering practices of the British army. It was recognized, too, that the billeting of soldiers often created problems with the owners which, in view of the solicitous attitude of the army toward the civilian population of the city, were to be avoided if at all possible.

Other companies of the regiment were quartered "in Camp" in tents. The camp of the First New York also included bell tents which were not intended for occupancy by soldiers but were used for the storage of arms. All tents were usually sized or painted as a matter of weather-proofing and the orders to Captain Hyatt and Captain Stenrod were typical. "Hyatts and Stenrod's Companies to size their bell tents in a proper manner, all other tents to be resized."[68]

From time to time, the location of the camp was changed. For the most part, however, the camp of the First New York was in the area of Bayard's Hill, "near the Bulls Head on the Bowry."[69] The Bayard Farm encompassed the area west of the Bowery between present day Canal and Bleecker Streets. The Bowery or Bowery Lane, as it was also known, being the only real route northward at the time, it is easy to understand why the Bulls Head Tavern was built along its way in 1760. For many years, drovers traded at the Bulls Head and had the convenience of the cattle pens nearby. Bayard's Hill, sometimes referred to as Bayard's Mount or Bayard's Fort, was a line of earthworks built by the British and extending along today's Grand Street, between the Bowry and Broadway.[70] It was at this site on August twelfth that lightening struck the camp of the First New York killing Captain Abraham Van Wyck and Lieutenants Peter Vergereau and William DePeyster.[71] During the Battle of Long Island the First New York was held in reserve at Bayard's Hill.[72]

A great deal of tolerance and restraint from both the army and the civilian population are usually necessary for good relations and mutual respect in the tense atmosphere of a garrison city. New York in 1776 was no exception, as the following orders indicated:[73]

> "Headquarters—New York—April 2, 1776
> The Commanding Officer of each of the established regiments will pay particular attention to disciplining the men off duty.
>
> Headquarters—New York—April 5, 1776
> The General briskly enjoins the officers to live in the strictist peace and amity with the inhabitants and to prevent any insult being offered them by the soldiers.

> Headquarters—New York—April 11, 1776
> Not withstanding orders have been given that the officers of every rank should take particular care that no insult be offered the inhabitants by soldiers. The General has had repeated complaints that the ladies in walking the streets are frequently insulted."

Discipline in the First New York was strictly enforced. The articles of war were read to each company twice a week by a commissioned officer.[74] The punishments metered out to those soldiers who violated the regulations were the same as those in general use in the other regiments. Corporal punishment was standard and the whip was the prime means of enforcing discipline. The number of lashes inflicted depended upon the severity of the offense. However, Colonel McDougall, "being in Judgement Opposed to Corporal Punishment,"[75] often changed the sentence a soldier had received as the result of a court martial from a number of lashes to a commensurate number of days confinement in the dungeon on bread and water. The following typical examples of court martials in the First New York give an interesting insight into some of the daily problems of the regiment:

> "Headquarters—New York—May 10, 1776
> Zodiac Piper of Capt. Ledyard's Company and Thos. Watkins of Capt. Lyon's Company, both in Col. McDougall's Regiment, tried by the same General Court Martial, for "Being concern'd in a riot on Saturday night"—The Court finds the Prisoner, Piper, guilty of being from his quarters at an unseasonable hour, and being concern'd in raising a disturbance in the streets, and do sentence him to be confined six days, upon bread and water, for said offence: The Court are of the opinion, that the Prisoner, Watkins, is guilty of being out of his quarters at an unseasonable hour, and of profane cursing and swearing, and do sentence him to be confin'd six days upon bread and water—and be fined one sixth of a dollar for profane swearing, as by the 3rd Article is prescribed."[76]

> "Headquarters—New York—June 5, 1776
> George Cottigen and Daniel Dunevil, both of Captain Van Wyck's Company, of Col. McDougall's Regiment, tried at the above Court Martial, for "Desertion"—are severall found guilty of the same, and sentenced to be whipped Thirty-nine Lashes each, on their bare backs. The General approves the above sentence, and orders it to be put in execution tomorrow morning, at guard mounting, at the head of the Regiment."[77]

> "Headquarters—New York—June 9, 1776
> John Monney of Capt. Stenrod's Company. Col. McDougall's Regt. tried at the General Court for Desertion, is found guilty but unfairness had been used in inlisting the prisoner, and his being very ignorant, judge him to be confined seven days on bread and water."[78]

> "Headquarters—New York—August 20, 1776
> James Mumford of Capt. Ledyard's Company, Regiment late Col. McDougall's convicted by the same Court Martial of "Dissertion and reinlistment into another corps"—sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes."[79]

> "Headquarters—New York—May 4, 1776
> William Winslow, Soldier in Capt. Johnson's Company, in Col. McDougall's Regiment, tried at a late General Court Martial, whereof Col. Baldwin was President, for "Desertion", is acquitted by the Court—The General orders the prisoner to be released from the confinement, and wishes he could add his approbation, of the proceedings of the court martial."[80]

> "Headquarters—New York—May 14, 1776
> John Cooper of Capt. Varick's Company, in Col. McDougall's Regiment, tried by the above Court Martial, for "MUTINY"—The Court finding the prisoner guilty of the charge, do sentence him to receive Fifteen Lashes on the bare back for said offence."[81]

> "Headquarters—New York—June 6, 1776
> John O'Brien of Capt. Varick's Company, Col. McDougall's Regiment, tried at the above Court Martial for "sleeping on his post when Sentry", is found guilty and sentenced to be whipped Twenty Lashes on his bare back."[82]

> "Headquarters—New York—May 29, 1776
> Joseph Lent of Captain Hyatt's Company, Colonel McDougall's Regiment tryed by the above court martial for disobedience of orders and striking his commanding officer Ensign Young when in the execution of his duty is found guilty of disobedience of orders and sentenced to be confined five days on bread and water in the Barrack's Dungeon. The General is not a little surprised at the sentence on the prisoner Joseph Lent and thinks the punishment so inadequate to the crime that he disapproves of the sentence, he hopes this hint will make future General Court Martials more particular and severe on the henious crime of a soldier striking or attempting to strike an officer or disobeying his Command."[83]

Desertion was the offense which occasioned a great many of the regimental court martials. Perhaps a distinction should be made at this point, however, between desertion and a practice known as bounty jumping. Desertion is generally considered to mean a soldier's unlawfully leaving his unit with no intention to return. Usually this was promoted by a desire to avoid further military service. Particularly in the early years of the war, enlistment bounties varied widely between the militia, levies and line regiments of the several colonies. Bounties took several forms, money ranging anywhere from $6.00 to $80.00 or more.

In some cases, a few articles of clothing were involved, and in other instances, many acres of land were used as an inducement to enlist. A soldier would enlist in one unit, receive the bounty being offered, then "desert" and re-enlist in another unit in order to obtain another (perhaps higher) bounty. The court martial of James Mumford, noted previously, would appear to fall into this category.

Officers of the regiment were not excluded from the discipline of a court martial. Lieutenant Arent Van Hook was "charged with Disobedience of Orders."[84] Lieutenant Ezekiel Oakley was charged with "beating Sally Paterson, an Inhabitant of this town, on the head with a stick. . . ."[85] Both officers were arrested and ordered "to be tried by the General Court Martial now sitting." The results of one Court Martial indicated that "Lieutenant Johnson of the 1st New York Regiment tried at a late General Court Martial for abusing Capt. Steinrod, in a most ridiculous manner, lifting up his Gun and threatening his Life, whilst in the execution of his Office, Judg'd guilty of a breach of the 1st Article in the seventh Section of the Articles of War, in using reproachful provoking Speeches and gestures to Capt. Steinrod (tho not when in execution of his Office) and that he ask pardon for so doing in the presence of his Commanding Officer. . . ."[86]

Special note should be made here of the court martial of Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz. Herman Zedtwitz was a Prussian who had seen service with the English Light-Horse under the command of the Marquis of Granby. He had agreed to a request from the Marquis to raise a number of German riflemen for the British service and actually arrived in London with the first contingent of men. Shortly after his arrival, Zedtwitz presented his accounts for payment. However, the Marquis, having since died, no payment was forthcoming. Following several unsuccessful attempts to secure payment, he and his men returned to Germany. No payment was received from the British, and Zedtwitz bore the full expense of the endeavor. In 1773, as he explained, "I then came with my wife and family to America."[87] In his possession when he arrived were two letters of recommendation from Lord North; one addressed to General Carleton in Quebec; one addressed to Governor Tryon. Two years later, on July 15, 1775, Herman Zedtwitz entered the Continental Service as major in the First New York Regiment. At the close of the Canadian campaign, he had been described as "a brave good officer but so disabled by a rupture, occasioned by a fall from a precipice in the attack of Quebeck under General Montgomery, that he is unfit for active duty."[88] At the time it was suggested that, "If some stationary duty, such as the command of some fort, could be allotted him, and another Field-Officer put into this Regiment, it would benefit the service."[89] No "stationary" command was given to Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz. Nevertheless, as late as August Twenty-fourth, he still expressed the feeling that, "I expect everyday my Comission as full Colonel and Comander of the 3 forts on the North River 65 Miles from here. . . ."[90] As we have seen, by April nineteenth, Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz had returned from Canada and was present with the regiment once again.

As the weeks passed, certain of his actions became the object of suspicion. On August twenty-first, General Washington sent for Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz and asked him to translate into German the Resolves of Congress encouraging the Hessian troops to desert. Zedtwitz agreed. Apparently convinced, however, that the American cause was lost and endeavoring to recoup his lost fortune by the sale of information, on the twenty-fourth the Lieutenant Colonel wrote to the former British Governor of New York, William Tryon, informing him of the details of Washington's request and offering his services to the British as a spy.[91] The letter never reached Governor Tryon. Instead it was delivered to General Washington. Zedtwitz was taken into custody immediately. The following day, August twenty-fifth, the announcement came from Headquarters that:

> "A special Court Martial to sit this day at twelve o'clock at Mrs. Montagnies for the tryal of Lieut. Col. Zedwitz, charged with carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, to be composed of a Brigadier General and twelve Field Officers—General Wadsworth to preside."[92]

Zedtwitz requested and received an additional day to prepare his defence. On August twenty-sixth, he plead "not guilty" to the charge as stated. During the trial, he was confronted with the treasonous letter and acknowledged that it was his handwriting. Brigadier General Lord Stirling appeared as a defense witness during the proceedings and indicated that, regarding the Hessians, "Zedtwitz told me that if he could be permitted to write or communicate with them by the authority of the General or the Congress, he could bring over a number of them. . . . About a fortnight ago he said to me, well, they are now come, my Lord, and I will get my two thousand pounds which the English Government cheated him out of; and went on to tell me how, but I paid but little attention to the story."[93] Deliberations did not take long. The Court found Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz " . . . guilty of concerting a plan, and attempting to treacherously correspond with, and give intelligence, to the enemy; and the Court sentence and adjudge that the prisoner be cashiered and rendered incapable, and he is hereby cashiered and rendered incapable of ever holding a commission in the service of the United American States."[94]

Following the Court Martial, Zedtwitz was imprisoned in New York City. He was later moved to confinement at Newark and subsequently to Morristown, New Jersey. On at least one occasion, he wrote to General Washington claiming sickness "which everyday threatens me with immediate death"[95] and describing in detail what he felt were the deplorable conditions of his incarceration. Zedtwitz's solicitations were intended to persuade Washington to take some action to lighten the burdens of his confinement. No such action was ever taken. He went so far as to propose a plan to the Commander in Chief whereby the former Lieutenant Colonel would facilitate the procurement of arms in Germany of a better quality and cheaper than those presently being supplied to the Continental Army. On November twenty-second, upon the direction of a Committee of the Continental Congress, Zedtwitz was removed to Philadelphia and confined in the state prison with instructions that "due care be taken to prevent him from keeping up any intercourse or correspondence with the enemies of these states."[96]

One interesting finality to the whole affair was that, as a result of a petition to the Continental Congress, Mrs. Zedtwitz was awarded slightly over fifty-eight dollars "for services done for the Continent." In addition, the Congressional Committee directed that "the further sum of 80 Dollars be paid to the said Mrs. Zedtwitz in full of two months pay due to her husband."[97]

The appointment of regimental staff officers, including the paymaster, came from the Commander in Chief. Usually the recommendation of the Colonel, sometimes accompanied by that of other officers of the regiment, was acted upon favorably. The following letters to General Washington are illustrative of the procedure and resulted in John Lawrence being appointed paymaster of the First New York.[98]

> "New York—August 9, 1776
>
> We the subscribers, Field-Officers and Captains in the First Regiment of the New-York troops, in the service of the United States of America, do hereby recommend Mr. John Lawrence as a fit person to be appointed as a Paymaster to the said Regiment.
>
> ALEXANDER MCDOUGALL, COLONEL
> H. ZEDTWITZ, LIEUTENANT COLONEL.
> BAR. TUTHILL, MAJOR.
> JOHN JOHNSON, CAPTAIN,
> BENJ. LEDYARD, CAPTAIN
> DAVID LYON, CAPTAIN.
> AHM. A. VAN WYCK, CAPTAIN.
> JOHN WILEY, CAPTAIN.
> EZEKIEL HYATT, CAPTAIN."

> "New York—August 12, 1776
>
> SIR: Agreeable to your Excellency's favour of the 9th, I take the liberty to enclosed you a recommendation of Mr. John Lawrence as a

> Paymaster to the regiment, signed by the Field-Officers of it, and all the Captains then in camp. I pledge myself that he will discharge the office to the satisfaction of the General and the corps.
>
> I have the honour to be, your very humble servant,
>
> ALEX. MCDOUGALL"

For some time, New York had been described as "deserted by its old inhabitants and filled with soldiers." Events were beginning to move rapidly to a climax. On July ninth, the Continental Army at New York was assembled on the common by Colonel Goose Van Schaick to hear the reading of the newly-adopted Declaration of Independence.

On August twelfth, Colonel McDougall was promoted to brigadier general and given command of a brigade consisting of the First New York regiment, the Third New York regiment, Colonel Webb's regiment of Connecticut militia, and the articifers.[99] This left the First New York without a colonel for a little over three months. Under the newly-established division arrangement, General McDougall's Brigade, including the First New York, was to be part of Major General Sullivan's Division and was designated as a "Corps de Reserve."[100] With the threat of imminent attack, on August thirteenth, the entire Corps de Reserve was ordered "to see that their men have their arms in good order, and that each man is provided with twenty-four rounds of ammunition and that their Regiments are furnished with as many more as will make up sixty rounds per man, and that ammunition Waggons are kept with their Regiments in order to transport the ammunition to such place as the Regiments may be called to."[101] On the fourteenth the First New York, as part of General Sullivan's Division, "having undertaken some especial work, are to be omitted out of the general detail of guards and fatigue for the present."[102] When General Sullivan was given command on Long Island on August twentieth, at the same time it was announced that, "Brigadier Lord Stirling is to take charge of General Sullivan's Division till he returns to it again."

Orders to all the regiments gave every indication that a test of arms was at hand:[103]

> "Headquarters—August 13, 1776
>
> If any infamous rascal in time of action shall attempt to sculk and hide himself, or retreat from the enemy without the orders of his commanding officer, he will instantly be shot down as an example of cowardice. On the other hand the General solemnly promisses, that he will reward those who shall distinquish themselves by Brave and noble actions, and he desires every Officer to be attentive to this particular, that such men may be suitably noticed.

> "Headquarters—August 14, 1776
>
> The General orders three days provision to be cooked immediately, that the soldiers have their canteens fill'd & be ready to meet the enemy on short notice. Such Colonels as have not sent for their ammunition carts, or drawn for Rum for the refreshment of their men in time of action, as per order of the 9th instant, are to do it immediately, and the Quarter Master must take care that it be used properly. The allowances is half a pint per man."

The area in which the First New York was encamped, Bayard's Hill, was the scene of renewed activity in an effort to complete the works rapidly. All regiments of the division were ordered to furnish a total of five hundred men "for fatigue to be ready on the Parade near Bayard's Hill with their Tools tomorrow morning at Sunrise, provided a general alarm is not given. A Commission'd Officer of each Regiment to attend this afternoon at 6 o'clock at Bayard's Hill in order to receive directions for the parties of their Fatigues."[104]

General Washington, the architect of the plan for the masterly withdrawal of the army from Long Island, turned to General McDougall in assigning responsibility for the movement of the troops back across the East River to Manhattan. All night long on the thirtieth, under a blanket of a penetrating fog, General McDougall supervised the embarkation at Fulton Ferry.

The defeat on Long Island and "the loss of two General Officers by the late action having occasioned a necessary alteration in the Brigades, the Brigade Majors are to attend tomorrow to receive a new arrangement."[105] On September first, General McDougall's Brigade, including the First New York, was assigned to "the Center Division under General Spencer" and were ordered to "hold themselves in readiness to march immediately to Harlem to prevent the enemy's landing on this Island."[106] By September fifth, the First New York had moved to Harlem Heights and was encamped near "the Brick House" used as a meeting place for the brigade majors.

In some respects, the condition of the First New York deteriorated drastically during the approximately six weeks the Regiment remained at Harlem Heights. The total number of officers and men fell from four hundred ninety-seven during the week of September thirteenth to three hundred fifty-six for the week of October tenth.[107] Over the period, eighty-nine men deserted. Captain Johnson's, Captain Ledyard's and Captain Stenrod's Companies, together with the company formerly commanded by Captain Van Wyck, were particularly hard hit, losing a total of fifty-one men between them.[108] Five soldiers were reported dead. Sixteen men were discharged, mostly from Captain Hyatt's and Captain Stenrod's companies. The downward trend indicated by the figures became that much more alarming in light of the fact that the total authorized strength of the regiment was approximately seven hundred officers and men. Providing only minimal relief to the downward pattern, eighteen men enlisted in the regiment, half of whom joined "late Captain Van Wycks Company" which was now under the command of Lieutenant Leonard Bleeker. The week of September thirteenth, during which the British moved against New York City, saw eleven soldiers of the First New York taken prisoner plus one sergeant major and two sergeants reported missing. Of the five men left in the city—one at Bayard's Hill—all managed to exit safely and rejoin the regiment.

Sickness was a major factor in reducing the number of men fit for duty and, indeed, the extended period of inclement weather was no help. Ninety-eight men, or approximately nineteen percent of the regiment, were carried as "sick present" and "sick absent" for the week of September thirteenth. This increased to one hundred two men or about twenty-eight percent during the week of October tenth. The officers, too, were affected. Captain Hyatt, Captain Lyon and Captain Forbes, together with other of the officers, all reported sick for longer than one week. For three weeks, Lieutenant William Tripp spent his time "on Command" with the sick of the regiment at the hospital in New Jersey.[109]

Several additional situations tended to impair the effectiveness of the First New York. Between seventeen and nineteen men were still with the artillery. Every week, nine or ten soldiers were "on Command" elsewhere; some on board the fireships, some privateering, some at the iron works or the furnace, some on the whaleboats, etc.[110] Ensign Benjamin Jones was away "in pursuit of deserters."[111] For better than two weeks, Captain John Johnson and Lieutenant John Johnson were both "On Command" at the Ferry at Kings Bridge; one of the key points of military communications and activity.[112]

During the week of October tenth, Major Tuttle resigned his commission and left the service. Now the First New York had no field officers whatsoever, Colonel McDougall having been promoted and Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz having been cashiered. The ranks of colonel, lieutenant colonel and major were all vacant. This situation was to persist until November twenty-first when a whole new complement of officers was appointed for the regiment.

As a reserve unit, the regiment saw no action during the encounter at Harlem Heights.

The movement of the army northward out of the city, some phases of which began before the British occupation on September fifteenth, was accompanied by an inordinate amount of confusion and some misconduct among the troops. To begin with, after the defeat on Long Island, the exuberant spirit that had been present among the troops had vanished. Physically, the men were tired, hungry and confused. Soldiers appeared to be wandering aimlessly and "to be constantly rambling about and at such distances from their respective quarters and encampments, as to render it impossible to collect them under arms in time to oppose the enemy in any sudden approach."[113] Days of continual rain had soaked both men and equipment. The roads were strewn with discarded and abandoned baggage, tents and equipment of every kind and description. Because of the hurried withdrawal from Long Island, many wagons and horses had to be left behind. They could not be replaced in time to be of any service in the evacuation of New York City. Most of the stores, however, were removed to Harlem Heights, but the larger part of the baggage of the officers and soldiers was left behind. Notices such as that posted by the First New York were not uncommon:

> "Found—a Knapsack containing a coat, 2 pairs of breeches, 2 stocks, and sundry other articles, the owner may have them again by applying to Lieutenant Hughes or Tapp."[114]

"Some instances of infamous cowardice and some of scandalous plunder & riot having lately appeared, the General is resolved to bring the offenders to examplary punishment."[115] The plundering of "both publick and private property" reached such proportions that on September twenty-second the General directed, "that every Regiment be paraded at 5 o'clock this evening, the knapsacks and tents of the whole to be examined under the inspection of the Field Officers and all articles not the proper baggage and accoutrements of a soldier set apart and kept by the commanding officer till enquiry can be made how they came possessed of them. A report is expected from the commanding officers of the Regiments to Head Quarters whether any articles are found or not, & the General depends upon the Honour of the Officers to inspect carefully and make a faithful report."[116]

The First New York was not without its scurrilous characters, and George Douglas, Sergeant in the Company formerly commanded by Captain Forbes, provided a prime example. Having been convicted by a General Court Martial "of imbezling and selling provisions belonging to the Company," he was "sentenced to be reduced to the Ranks and whip'd 39 lashes" and "to be continued under the Provost Guard for mutinous speeches and disrespectful language of the Commander in Chief."[117] On the following day, referring to Douglas, General Washington made the comment that, "this offender bearing a very bad character, is to be continued in the Provost Guard till further orders."[118]

Tents being the only shelter afforded the army at the time, special attention was given to their care and use. The following orders were directed to all of the regiments, including the First New York:[119]

> "Headquarters—September 2, 1776
> When Regiments march away in future, the officers are to see that the men take their tent poles in their hands, all their tin camp kettles and see the tents tied up carefully, and a sufficient guard left to take care of them.
>
> Headquarters—September 29, 1776
> As there is the greatest appearance of bad weather, the General directs and begs that the Officers will have a special care of the arms and ammunition wherever there is a convenient cover, Bell Tents or painted tents to have the arms and ammunition put into them.
>
> Headquarters—October 9, 1776
> The General forbids covering the bottom of Tents with Earth as a few days in this situation must render them totally unfit for service, the Commanding Officers of each Corps will take care to see that this order is strictly complyed with in his own encampment."

On October 15th, McDougall's Brigade was placed under Major General Lee's division.[120] In describing the situation at Harlem on the seventeenth, General McDougall had indicated that "nothing material has happened here since the skirmish of the 16th ultimo. The enemy appear very shy. Our advanced sentries and theirs are within three hundred yards of each other in Harlem lane."[121] A council of war had been held on October sixteenth. As a result, the army crossed the Harlem River at Kingsbridge and began its retreat northward from Harlem Heights along the road immediately east of the Hudson River. The Division under General Spencer were entrenched in detached camps just west of the Bronx River from the Heights of Fordam to White Plains and served as a protection for the main American force moving northward on the road further west. Along the route of retreat, progress was slow and toilsome. There were not enough horses nor wagons and much of the artillery had to be dragged through the mud by hand. In an effort to provide some relief for the situation, on October twentieth, from the Camp at Mile Square, General Lee directed, "Brigadier General McDougall, at present separate from the Division, is to impress as many Waggons, Teams or Carts as possible and retain them for the use of his Brigade."[122] By October twenty-first, the First New York had reached Yonkers, where in a letter to Robert Yates, General McDougall lamented some of the circumstances which had befallen the regiment:

> My old regiment had no Field Officer, which has been of great prejudice to it, Colonel Zedwitz being cashiered, and Major Tuthill dismissed the service at his own request. It is greatly reduced by the desertion of the men who had wifes &c. in New York, and those belonging to Captain Hyatt's and Stenrod's companies, recruited out of the County of Westchester. However, there are some good officers and men in it, worthy to be retained in the service. Even the bones of a regiment are of great moment in the forming one. No time should be lost in appointing Field Officers for it. It gives me great concern that many valuable officers of my regiment of last year will not enter the service unless they are placed in their relative rank with Colonel Dubois."[123]

On the morning of October twenty-eighth, Howe's entire army, which had been moving in the direction of the main American position in the village of White Plains came to a halt on the plain before the American lines. It soon became apparent that the initial action was to be an assault upon Chatterton's Hill. This hill occupied the westerly end of the American position and was separated from the main American forces by a narrow valley and the Bronx River. Breastworks had been thrown up quickly and manned by Haslet's Delaware Regiment plus some militia units. General McDougall's Brigade, consisting of the First New York, the Third New York, Webb's Regiment, the remainder of Smallwood's Marylanders and a battery of two field pieces under the command of Alexander Hamilton, was brought up to reinforce the position on Chatterton's Hill. This brought the total number of troops committed to the defense of the Hill to about 1,600.

A furious cannonade was initiated against the Americans on the Hill. About 4,000 troops were separated from the main British army for the assault while the remaining force was to watch and wait. "The sun shone bright, their arms glittered, and perhaps troops never were shewn to more advantage, than these now appeared. The whole now halted; and for a few minutes the men all sat down in the same order in which they stood, no one appearing to move out of his place. The cannonade continued brisk across the Brunx."[124] With fixed bayonets, the British began their ascent of the Hill. The fire from the American position was particularly heavy and the attack was thrown back. After a brief regrouping and with additional forces, including Hessians, the British made their second attempt on the American positions. As the ascent progressed, the cannonade ceased. The militia on the right flank was dispersed by von Rall's Hessians and a troop of British Light Dragoons. The First New York and the Third New York, together with the Maryland troops, were forced to give ground in the path of the oncoming British and Hessians. A retreat was effected in reasonably good order and McDougall was able to carry off his wounded and artillery. General Heath described the withdrawal: "They moved off the hill in a great body, neither running, nor observing the best order. The British ascended the hill very slowly; and when arrived at its summit, formed and dressed their line, without the least attempt to pursue the Americans."[125] During the night of October thirty-first, Washington evacuated the Camp at White Plains and established a new position a short distance to the north; on the heights at North Castle. Subsequently, on November twentieth and twenty-third, returns of the casualties suffered by the First New York Regiment in the action at White Plains indicated: "Killed—none; Wounded—1 Serjeant; Missing—17 Rank & File; Taken Prisoner—11 Rank & File."[126]

At North Castle, the spirit of the regiment, as well as the entire American Force, was much improved. On Chatterton's Hill, the men had stood against the best the British and Hessians could offer, and, while a withdrawal was ultimately effected, the enemy did not attain the position easily and Howe's advance was checked. During the few weeks the regiment was to spend in camp at North Castle, in addition to the other usual camp duties, twelve men for piquet were provided by the First New York about every ten days; as on November fifth and sixteenth.[127] Food and drink were relatively plentiful. However, many items of clothing as well as tents and blankets were in short supply. The weather had been damp and rainy for some time and winter winds were beginning to make their presence felt. The sick and wounded of the regiment, together with those "convelisunce and others not entirely fit for duty," were sent to Peekskill where barracks were being built. However, sufficient cover for the sick was not available in Peekskill and early in December over two hundred of the sick of General McDougall's brigade, including the First New York, were "permitted to occupy parts of the Academy at Fishkill as are tenatable for an Hospital until they can be otherwise provided for."[128] It soon became apparent that the regiment would not remain at North Castle for any length of time and two wagons were provided and held in readiness to move the baggage of the regiment. The officers were advised to "curtail their baggage accordingly."[129]

A final reorganization of the New York line (generally referred to as the Third Establishment) occurred in November. Again, times of service were about to expire. Contrary to Washington's pleadings for longer enlistments, the Continental Congress, in its distaste and distrust of a standing army, had previously insisted on short enlistment periods. As a result, enlistments were continually running out and troops would be dispersing or substantially reducing their numbers at critical periods and times of crises. The exhortation at North Castle on November third was typical:

> "The General is sorry to find that there are some soldiers so lost to all sense of honour and honesty, as to leave the Army when there is the greatest necessity for their service. He calls upon the Officers of every Rank to exert themselves in puting a stop to it, and absolutely forbids any Officer under the Rank of a Brigadier General discharging any Officer or Soldier or giving any permission to leave the Camp on any pretence whatever."[130]

As the need for longer periods of service became mandatory, Congress finally agreed to enlistments "for the War or three Years."

As early as July, in a letter to General Washington, Colonel McDougall stated the recruiting and enlistment policy of the First New York, together with some of his own comments on enlistments:

> "All the non-commissioned officers, rank and file of my regiment, are inlisted without time, except one company, recruited before the instructions for raising the four regiments issued from Congress; and I doubt not to be able to engage this on the same establishment . . . Regiments engaged without time, are more to be depended on for the defence of the country than those imbodied for a short period. I therefore submit it to the General's consideration, whether it would not advance the service to enable the regiments raised for three years, or a longer time, to recruit out of the new levies; and those corps raised for a shorter duration."[131]

Instructions to recruiting officers plus the terms and conditions of enlistment were again set forth in detail:[132]

> "Headquarters—November 10, 1776
>
> Such officers as have been commissioned by the several States for the new army are immediately to set about recruiting from the troops of such state only upon the following terms viz. 20 Dollars Bounty, a suit of clothes, 100 acres of land, the same pay and rations as are now given, the service to continue during the present contest with Great Britain, such ample encouragement it is not doubted will induce every true lover of his country to engage in its defence to preserve it from the horrors of slavery and the devastation of a cruel and barbarous enemy. No boys under the idea of waiters or otherwise, or old men to be inlisted, if they are, they will be returned on the hands of the Officer without any allowance for any expence he has been at."
>
> "Headquarters—November 19, 1776
>
> In consequence of a resolve of Congress inclos'd to the General, it is thought necessary to inform the Officers that for each man inlisted in or out of Camp, the officer who inlist him is to receive 1 ⅓ of a dollar, that those soldiers who chuse to inlist only for 3 years, will receive the same pay and bounty as those who inlist during the War."
>
> "Headquarters—November 27, 1776
>
> Resolved . . . That each State be at Liberty to direct their recruiting Officer to inlist their men either for the War, or three Years, upon the respective Bounties offered by Congress, without presenting inlisting Rolls for both terms, according to a former Resolution, keeping it always in view, that in the opinion of Congress, the Publick Service will be best promoted by inlistment for the War, if the recruiting business is not retarded thereby."

In addition to providing a solution to the problem of short enlistments, a reorganization and rearrangement of officers in the New

York line was made for the purpose of weeding out undesirable and unqualified material. In a letter to Robert Yates, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangement, from Yonkers on October twenty-first, General McDougall summed up the feeling prevalent in most quarters:[133]

> "All the discerning officers of the army see the necessity of having good officers in it. Without that, you never can have a regular or brave army. The contrast between those troops who are well and those who are ill officered, now in service, is so great, that it is impossible to have an adequate idea of it but by experience. It has made such an impression on the minds of every man of sense, civil as well as military, from the neighbouring States, who have viewed the army, that they are determined to make one vigorous effort to obtain good officers for the new army."

In November, as enlistments were once again about to expire, the colonels of the various regiments were called upon to "give the characters of the officers of our Regiment that such as are fit may be continued in and those that are unfit may be dismissed the service."[134] In the evaluation of the officers of the First New York, Captain John Johnson was described as "a careful officer, but, in the opinion of his brother officers, unfit for a field officer."[135] Captain Benjamin Ledyard: "a good officer, fit for the Majority." First Lieutenant Leonard Bleeker was termed "not so careful or attentive as might be wished." First Lieutenant Henry Tiebout: "a good officer, fit to take charge of a company." Second Lieutenant William Tapp: "a good officer fit for 1st Lieutenant." First Lieutenant John Johnson: "a tolerable officer, but sickly." These were the descriptions of some of those officers whose retention in the service was considered desirable. There were others whose evaluation was not so complimentary. Lieutenant William Dunn: "a sober officer, but rather too old." Ensign Samuel Young: "of too rough a make for an officer, better qualified for the Navy than the Army." Lieutenants Caleb Hobby, Joseph Delport and Ensign Isaac Pioneer: "These three wish to decline the service. They will be of no loss to it." Lieutenant Isaac Titus and Ensign Benjamin Jones were described as "unfit for the service."

For some time, it had been felt by some that all of the vacancies in the officer ranks of the First New York should be filled promptly with a minimum of regard for quality and experience. The New York Convention had been advised that, "Your officers, by the delay, will lose the opportunity of raising so fast in the Continental Army as those of other States. There is some uneasiness in the First Regiment on the subject of rank."[136] While the delay and the lack of field officers obviously created certain problems, the regiment was the long-term beneficiary of the depth of experience and ability of those selected to fill the positions of command.

On November 21, 1776, Colonel Goose Van Schaick was named Commander of the First New York Regiment. Colonel Van Schaick was an able, professional soldier with a long and outstanding record of meritorious service. He was a native of Albany, New York. A complete new arrangement was established for the First New York, giving the regiment a full complement of field officers. Some time was to elapse, however, before all of the newly appointed officers could assume their new duties, and it was not until early 1777 that the regiment was completely organized under the new arrangement.

The regimental return of November twenty-seventh indicated a total of four hundred forty-nine men. Having become part of General Sullivan's division on November twenty-first (under the overall command of General Lee), the Regiment, still encamped at North Castle, was to remain on the east side of the Hudson "to secure and bring off the stores and were then to follow into the Jersies."[137] On December second, the First New York as well as all of the troops under the command of General Lee, crossed to the west side of the river at King's Ferry. This crossing of the Hudson from Verplanck's Point on the east to Stony Point on the west side, was used at various times by all of the British, French and American armies in their movements back and forth from eastern to middle states. Long lines of flat boats heavily laden with men, artillery, horses, etc., were not an uncommon sight at King's Ferry. There were several landings on the western end. Lord Stirling described the landing at the promontory of Stony Point as "very inconvenient, as at half tide the vessels are obliged to lay at the distance of five or six hundred yards from the shore, which makes tedious work with the few boats that are here; besides, it is open to any insult the enemy is pleased to commit."[138]

General McDougall was delayed at Haverstraw by a "fit of rheumatism" brought on by the rainy weather which accompanied the march from White Plains.[139] By December ninth, he was ready to move southward and reached Morristown, New Jersey on December sixteenth. Subsequently, it was noted that "the First New York Battalion, commanded by Colonel Van Schaick and recruited to about four hundred men, is already marched to garrison Fort George or Ticonderoga."[140] However, a contingent of the Regiment, consisting of 11 commissioned officers, 45 enlisted men "present" and 9 men "absent sick," commanded by Captain John Johnson, remained in New Jersey and was attached to Colonel Sargent's Massachusetts Brigade, which was part of General Sullivan's Division.[141] After the capture of General Lee, General Sullivan assumed command of the Division and promptly crossed the Delaware at Easton and joined Washington's camp on December twentieth. Hopelessly inadequate supplies and clothing made a ragged sight of

Sullivan's division as they marched into camp, "in a miserable plight, destitute of almost everything, many of them fit only for the hospital."[142]

The details of the attack upon Trenton having been agreed upon, the main force under Washington was divided into two divisions: one under General Greene, the other under General Sullivan. Captain Johnson's contingent of the First New York Regiment, being attached to Colonel Sargent's Brigade, was part of Sullivan's command. On Christmas afternoon, Washington's Division was paraded some distance from the west shore of the Delaware about nine miles above Trenton. At dusk, instead of returning to camp, the army moved toward the river and the boats which had been gathered at McKonkey's Ferry.

Once again, the skill of Colonel John Glover's Massachusetts Regiment in maneuvering the boats was to succeed over what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles. The bitter cold of the preceding days had filled the river with huge masses of floating ice. The crossing began at dark. Progress was slow and tedious. Greene's division was the first to cross. As the hours slipped away, conditions worsened. A biting wind, snow and sleet added to the obstacles and discomfort. Colonel Sargent's Brigade was one of the last of Sullivan's division to cross.[143] By the time the First New York got into the boats, most of the force was on the Jersey side. The crossing was scheduled to be completed by midnight. Conditions being as they were, however, it was close to four o'clock before the last man had come ashore and the army was ready to march.

Washington proceeded toward Trenton along the upper or Pennington Road with the troops under General Greene. General Sullivan's Division became the right wing of the army and advanced along the lower or river road. The nine miles to Trenton and the lateness of the hour eliminated the possibility of a surprise attack before dawn. About midway, a halt was called and the men took a hasty meal of prepared rations.

Almost all of the men were poorly clad. Some had mere remnants of what were once shoes; many had no shoes at all. Rags were tied around bare feet. The bitter cold made the threadbare breeches, hunting shirts and uniforms of last summer totally inadequate and no protection against the wind and snow. Blood stains in the snow and frozen ruts of the road bespoke the torture of every agonizing mile. The elements were rendering the muskets inoperative. Cold, numb fingers were being cut attempting to readjust and chip dull flints. Ice was forming on unprotected frizzens. Dampness was getting to the powder; even the paper of the cartridges still in the cartridge boxes was being affected.

The first Americans reached Trenton about eight o'clock. The Christmas holidays and the festivities of the season found the Hessians totally unprepared for an attack. Once the alarm had been given, the Hessians tried desperately to form ranks in the streets. Knox's Battery and Alexander Hamilton's New York Artillery raked the two main streets with grapeshot. General Mercer pressed in from the west. Washington, Stirling and Greene were moving into the town from the north and east. Following the river road, Sullivan's force swung around to the south to close off the bridge over the Assunpink Creek. The confused Hessians attempted to retreat over the Assunpink Bridge but were driven back by Sullivan's men. In a final effort, the Hessians attempted to regroup in the orchard near the bridge. Here Colonel Rall was struck down. The Kynphausen regiment was being put to rout by Sullivan's men including Captain Johnson's Detachment of the First New York. Further resistance was short-lived and the Kynphausen soon surrendered. It seemed somewhat ironic that the First New York had been part of the force which brought about the surrender of the Kynphausen regiment. Just two months before, almost to the day, the advance of the Kynphausen regiment had forced the First New York to retreat from Chatterton's Hill at White Plains. By 9:30 a.m. it was all over; more than 900 prisoners and considerable stores, muskets, ammunition and supplies were taken. There were large numbers of British and Hessian troops still in the area. While Washington's army was cold, hungry and exhausted, to remain in Trenton for the rest and refreshment of the men was to court disaster. So began the long trek over the same route back to camp on the west side of the Delaware. For all intents and purposes, the march back was little or no better than it had been the night before. Conditions on the river had not improved.

"The victors arrived at their respective quarters dropping with sleep, having marched and fought continuously for six and thirty, forty, and in some cases, for fifty hours. That was a long and severe ordeal; and yet it may be doubted whether so small a number of men ever employed so short a space of time with greater and more lasting results upon the history of the world."[144]

The final days of the year saw the contingent of the First New York, which had fought at Trenton under Captain John Johnson, melt away. Enlistments had expired. Captain Johnson had hoped for a staff appointment. "Paymaster to a regiment or some such office."[145] Disappointment, however, prompted him to leave the army. Earlier in the month, over a glass of wine with General McDougall, Captain Johnson had indicated his intention to resign, to which the General expressed "a hearty sorrow."[146] The Captain was not the only officer to leave the Regiment. Other officers of the First New York left the service during the same period. Nevertheless, it should be noted here that as enlistments expired at the end of the year, many men of the First New York reenlisted in other New York regiments, particularly the Third. There were several reasons. A number of the officers were appointed to a higher rank in some of the other regiments. Many men went with their officers into another regiment. Not to be forgotten was Colonel Van Schaick's reputation as a strict disciplinarian which tended to keep some officers from aligning themselves with the First New York. More than a few of the men who had served in the First New York and went on into the Third New York were to wait many months for their pay. In some cases, it was over a year late. A number of the officers who went into the Third, including Lieutenant Henry Tiebout, received their pay for December during March of next year while at Peekskill.[147]

Major Christopher P. Yates
Courtesy Schenectady County Historical Society.

THREE

1777

On January 1, 1777, the Provincial Congress took cognizance of the new arrangement of the First New York Regiment and directed that "the Secretaries deliver the Colours of the First Regiment of New York Troops in the Continental services to General Ten Broeck to be by him delivered to Colonel Van Schaick."[1] Thus, with the official consummation of the arrangement of November 1776, referred to as the "Third Establishment," the First New York was to take on an entirely new character. No longer was the regiment to be a unit identified primarily with the New York City area. The regiment now achieved an upstate character. For many years, Colonel Van Schaick had been a prominent figure in military affairs in Albany as well as the Mohawk Valley, and the Lake George-Lake Champlain areas. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck had also been closely associated with the military activities in the same area. The unique knowledge of the New York frontier possessed by both Colonel Van Schaick and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was an important consideration in governing the future activities and assignments of the regiment. Most of the future Regimental direction was to emanate from Albany, which had become the base of operations for the Northern Department and served as the receiving and distribution point for the armies in the field. A good deal of the recruiting was to be done in Albany and the surrounding areas. The "Third Establishment," while altering the regiment drastically, was to provide the First New York with a continuity of field officers enjoyed by few other regiments. Both Colonel Van Schaick and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck continued in their respective positions as Commander and Lieutenant Commander of the regiment until the end of the war. Personalities and circumstances seemed to be combining to give the First New York a new identity.

Following his appointment as Commander of the First New York, Colonel Van Schaick set out to make the new arrangement a practical reality and initiated vigorous recruiting efforts to bring the regiment up to full strength. He had received the sum of three thousand pounds from the State Treasurer for bounty money.[2] The resolutions passed by the Committee of Arrangement on December 14, 1776 were typical of those to follow:[3]

> "Resolved, that Recruiting instructions be immediately given to Capt. John Copp for inlisting a Company in Col Van Schaicks regiment & that this committee pledge themselves, that he shall be placed in such rank on the Continental establishment as he is entitled to from his former Commission.
>
> Resolved, that Capt. Robert McKane be & He is hereby appointed Capt. of a Company in Col Van Schaicks Regiment & that this Committee pledge themselves that he shall be placed in such rank in the continental establishment as he is entitled to from his former commission."

In February, the Provincial Congress had resolved that "every non-commissioned officer or private in either of the Companies of Rangers, who shall enlist in any of the continental regiments commanded by Colonels Cortlandt, Gansevoort, Van Schaick, H. B. Livingston or DuBois shall upon being sworn, be discharged from such Company of Rangers and permitted to join the regiment in which he has so enlisted."[4] In addition, the Provincial Congress had made it possible for "any person within this State, who shall on or before the first day of June next, procure at his own expense an able-bodied man to enlist for three years or during the war in either of the five Continental Regiments, raising under the direction of this Convention within this State and now commanded by the Colonels Van Schaick, Van Cortlandt, Gansevoort, DuBois and Henry B. Livingston, and shall deliver such soldier to any commissioned officer of either of the said Regiments, he shall on procuring a Certificate of such delivery, signed by the said officer, to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment of Militia, to which the person so procuring such soldier shall belong, be exempted from all drafts from the Militia for the term of time, for which the person so enlisted shall engage."[5]

Shortly after the Regiment arrived in Albany, Abraham Ten Eyck was appointed paymaster and "the monthly pay of the American Army commencing January 1, 1777" was set forth anew:[6]

	Pay per Month	
Colonel	75	dollars
Lieut. Colonel	50	"
Major	50	"
Chaplain	33⅓	"
Surgeon	50	"
Surgeon's Mate	40	"
Quartermaster	27½	"
Paymaster	40	"
Captain	40	"
Lieut	27	"
Ensign	20	"
Adjutant	40	"
Serge Major	9	"
2nd Mast Serg't	9	"
Drum Major	8⅓	"
Fife Major	8⅓	"
Sergeant	8	"
Corporal	7⅓	"
Drum	7⅓	"
Fife	7⅓	"
Private	6⅔	"

Some unique circumstances, however, made the recruiting task particularly difficult. "There appearing so great a reluctance in the young gentlemen in and about Albany to engage in the service, many of Colonel Van Shaick's officers having declined to accept their appointment."[7] In addition, the Provincial Congress had directed both Colonel Hazen and Colonel Livingston to raise a regiment and "to appoint such officers as they may judge proper who are now in this City and its neighborhood recruiting, which much deters the filling of Van Schaick's and Gansevoorts regiments."[8] Nevertheless, Colonel Van Schaick was able to supply an ample number of potential officers to the Committee of Arrangement and was untiring in obtaining their approval. The case of Captain John Copp makes an interesting example of Colonel Van Schaick's persistence in obtaining what he considered a good officer. In his letter to the Committee of Arrangement on February second, the Colonel explained that:

> "I have likewise, to represent to you the situation of Captn. Copp, who by a resolution of your board of December last, was appointed to a captaincy in my regiment, received his instructions accordingly; and was ordered, as he informs me, by several of the members of the committee of arrangement (after he had signified his intentions of recruiting near Fishkill), to repair for further instructions to me without delay.
>
> Three days after the date of your resolves in his favor, which he produced to me on his arrival, I ordered him to take charge of the recruits at Saratoga, the place of their rendezvous. From thence I shortly ordered him on immediate service, with the men under his command, to Fort George where he has continued ever since with a considerable part of his company, which I am persuaded is not far short of being full. His zeal to promote the good of the service, and activity in his office, makes me the more interested in his behalf; to my certain knowledge he has paid particular attention to disciplining his company, and has been careful in arming and accoutreing them in the best manner, and in providing clothing for them; and has distributed to his men, (many of whom have been enlisted upwards of two months without receiving their wages), a considerable sum of money.
>
> I find by the arrangement sent me of my regiment, his name is omitted notwithstanding your resolves, and also find that two other gentlemen, viz: Lieut. Colo. Ten Eyck and Capt. McKeen, are therein appointed to supply the vacancies of Captn. Van Veghten and Veeder, who declined the service, to one of which vacancies Captn.

> Copp had a prior appointment. It would give me great satisfaction if Capt. Copp could be continued in my regiment, as he is anxious to remain under my immediate command; in short a favourable disposition of my officers toward Captn. Copp, the confusion his removal must occasion in his company, and his earnestness to preserve his present station, induce me to solicit his continuance in it; which will oblige.''

As a result of Colonel Van Schaick's efforts, Captain Copp was retained in the regiment and went on to further service, including the command of Fort Dayton, until his resignation in 1779.

When the situation required a prompt decision regarding a likely officer, Colonel Van Schaick did not hesitate to take appropriate independent action: ''In my last to the Committee I sent a list of officers in the First Battalion who had declined the service. I also Recommend Lieut. Nathaniel Henry and have by the Generals approbation appointed him Lieut advanc'd him money, he has already inlisted near his Compliment of men and is with them gone on Service to Fort George, so that the Committee I hope will not fail of appointing him.''[10]

Some of the circumstances surrounding the recruiting service are highlighted in the Colonel's letter of December 23, 1776 to the Committee of Arrangement:[11]

> ''Gentlemen—I enclose the Committee a list of the officers in the first battalion, who have declined the service, etc.
>
> I take the liberty to recommend to the notice of the Committee, in the room of those who have declined for lieutenants—Nathaniel Henry, Guy Young and Henry Defendorf; for ensigns—Jonathan Brown, ______ Bennett, Thomas Hicks, Jacob Ja. Klock.
>
> Several of the above gentlemen I have furnished with money, and immediately sent them on the recruiting service, in order that this most necessary business might not be delayed any longer.
>
> In a former letter I recommended Timothy Hughes and Francis Shaw; those gentlemen have since been provided for in Colo. Livingston's regiment.
>
> I am with perfect esteerm.
>
> The Committee's most hble. servt.
> G. Van Schaick''

Despite the difficulties, Colonel Van Schaick was able to finalize a rostra of officers which was to give the regiment some continuity for an extended period of time. Many of the officers had served with the Colonel on previous occasions and came with him into the First New York as a result of the ''Third Establishment'' in November of last year. Obviously, Colonel Van Schaick brought with him only those officers who had performed well and in connection with whom he had given a favorable opinion in the general evaluation of officers accomplished just prior to the new arrangement of last November twenty-first. The following ''Muster Roll'' of officers in the First New York, substantially finalized by January first, remained intact for most of the year.[12] Included are some of the comments regarding the ability and effectiveness of some of the individuals.

NAME	*RANK*	*REMARKS*
Goose Van Schaick	Colonel	
Cornelius Van Dyck	Lieutenant Colonel	
Christopher P. Yates	Major	
Peter B. Tearse	Adjutant	''Good''
Henry Van Woert	Quartermaster	''Good''
Abraham Ten Eyck	Paymaster	
Rev^{d} Solomon Freligh	Chaplain	''Not joined''
William Mead	Surgeon	
Caleb Sweet	Mate	
	1st COMPANY	
Joseph McCracken	Captain	''Very Good - not fit to be a Major''
Guy Young	1st Lieutenant	
John Denny	2nd Lieutenant	''Very Good''
Jonathan Brown	Ensign	''Indifferent''
	2nd COMPANY	
John Graham	Captain	
Nicholas Van Rensselaer	1st Lieutenant	''Esteemed as a brave good officer''
Nathaniel Henry	2nd Lieutenant	
Thomas Hicks	Ensign	
	3rd COMPANY	
Andrew Finck	Captain	''Very Good''
Tobias Van Vechten	1st Lieutenant	''Very good''
Bartholomew VanValkenburgh	2nd Lieutenant	
Jacob J. Klock	Ensign	
	4th COMPANY	
John Copp	Captain	
Barent Staats Salisbury	1st Lieutenant	
Ephraim Snow	2nd Lieutenant	
Benjamin Gilbert	Ensign	
	5th COMPANY	
Benjamin Hicks	Captain	''Very good''
Charles Parsons	1st Lieutenant	''Good''
Samuel Thorn	2nd Lieutenant	
Wilhelmus Ryckman	Ensign	
	6th COMPANY	
David Van Ness	Captain	''Good''
John Houghkirk	1st Lieutenant	
Abraham Hardenburgh	2nd Lieutenant	
Jacob H. Wendell	Ensign	
	7th COMPANY	
Robert McKeen	Captain	

John C. Ten Broeck	1st Lieutenant
William Scudder	2nd Lieutenant
James Moore	Ensign

8th COMPANY

John H. Wendell	Captain
Adiel Sherwood	1st Lieutenant
Christopher Muller	2nd Lieutenant
Jeremiah C. Muller	Ensign

In addition to their staff positions, Adjutant Peter B. Tearse, Quartermaster Henry Van Woert and Paymaster Abraham Ten Eyck all held the rank of first lieutenant.

Chaplain Israel Evans had left the Regiment late last year and Reverend Solomon Freligh, a Dutch Reformed clergyman from New Jersey, had been appointed chaplain of the First New York. In the early weeks of the new year, because of his absence from the Regiment, Reverend Freligh was carried on the Returns as "not joined." As time went on, he continued to remain away and was ultimately dropped from the rostra of officers. Throughout the rest of its existence, the First New York was to be without a chaplain.

Finally, after nearly three months of intensive recruiting efforts, the Regiment showed a total strength of four hundred twenty-seven men plus approximately thirty-eight commissioned officers.[13] Four captains, five lieutenants, three ensigns and four sergeants continued to devote their time to recruiting in Albany and the neighboring counties. Nevertheless, Colonel Van Schaick was compelled to inform the Committee that, "It is a matter of concern to me to be under the disagreeable necessity of acquainting the Convention, that it is out of our power to complete the battalion this season; the number of men enlisted in these parts for Cols. Livingston, Hazen, Warner and upwards of four hundred batteau men, have so drained the town and county, that of late, the officers on the recruiting service have very little success."[14]

Equipping new recruits was always difficult. After a year and a half of war, many problems still remained and, in the case of some items, supplies were exhausted. The New York Convention had appointed a committee "to purchase at the cheapest rate, in the County of Albany, sundry articles for the use of the army." Every effort was made to procure the necessary items and the Committee soon found that they could get "shoes at the rate of twenty shillings per pair; woolen hose from ten to twelve shillings per pair; felt hats from ten to twelve shillings each; mittens from three shillings and sixpence to five shillings and sixpence; check from thirty-two to forty shillings per shirt, besides the making; coarse woolen cloth, linsey-woolsey, and blankets, not to be had in our district. As the prices of the above articles are much above for common price, we have not engaged any except a few pair of mittens, until such time as we could receive advice from the Convention."[15]

Despite the scarcity of certain items and the price of others, some articles of clothing and uniform were received by the Regiment. Most of the uniforms for the New York regiments funneled into the Northern Department through George Measam, commissary general of clothing for New York. Usually, Measam had the items delivered to John Tayler who was in charge of the public store at Albany and responsible for their distribution to the regiments in the area. In the case of the First New York, the paymaster was the officer generally assigned to obtain items for the regiment from the public store. During the first fourteen weeks of the new year, the regiment obtained a number of items as indicated by the following list:[16]

BREECHES

Cloth	5 Pair
Blue Everlasting	9 "
Red Everlasting	9 "
Everlasting	99 "
Everlasting Breeches lin'd with Woolen Check	32 "
Crimson Serge Dennim	2 "
Total -	156 Pair

JACKETS

Spotted Swanskin	218
Plain Knapt	31
Plain Swanskin	120
Brown Cadiz	60
Total -	429

HATS

Hats	260
Castor Hats	15
Felt Hats	3
Total -	278

COATS

Tight Body'd lin^d Blue 12 Bro	100
Short Coats - Drab	87
Blue Molton Coats	76
Ratteen Coats	63
Ratteen French Coats	3
Short Blue Cloth Coats	15
Grey Ratteen Short Coats	6
Brown Molton French Coat	1
Drab Coats	7
Short Drab Coats lin'd with Woolen Check	52

Short Drab Coats lin'd with Red Baize	12
Watch Coats	9
Short Rateen Lin'd with Woolen Check	77
Total -	508
Mittens	60 Pair
Shoes	62 ″
Stockings	30 ″

It can be seen that, in most instances, the number of any one item was not sufficient to supply the entire regiment and while there was some variety in the type and color of the items, this did not deter Colonel Van Schaick from using what was at hand and available. However, some further comment in connection with a number of the items seems appropriate.

Virtually all of the breeches were described as "Everlasting," and this designation referred to the nature of the material from which the breeches were fashioned. "Everlasting" was a "thick, heavily felted woolen made to imitate buff leather."[17] Of the one hundred fifty-six pairs delivered to the regiment, no specific color was indicated for one hundred thirty-one pairs, although thirty-two of these were lined with woolen check. Relatively few pairs were either blue or red and the two pairs of "Crimson Serge Dennim" breeches were for Captain Graham.

By far, most of the jackets were either plain or spotted Swanskin, a fine, thick kind of flannel.

Two hundred seventy-eight hats fell far short of supplying every man. The fifteen Castor hats are interesting in that they were usually hats made from beaver fur or from rabbit fur in imitation of beaver. Castor hats is a description which was also applied to hats made from a cheap woolen cloth woven to imitate beaver fur.[18]

The uniform coats present the most noteworthy comparison and suggest the appearance of the regiment to a greater extent than any other item. Short coats were still very much in use and almost half of the two hundred forty-nine coats listed were of this description. One hundred fifty-one drab short coats represented the largest number of any one color although both blue and gray coats were included.[19] Considering the different colors of the coats, the red baize and woolen check linings of the drab short coats, and the woolen check linings on the short ratteen coats, when the coat tails were turned up, the regiment certainly presented a varied appearance. Add to this the eighty-eight "Tight Body'd Lin^{d} Blue" and the twelve lined brown and the picture was diverse indeed. It should be remembered, too, that because of the difficulty in obtaining enough clothing, particularly for recruits, those men enlisting in the First New York who had seen previous service in another regiment and who had a uniform coat, usually brought it with them and continued to wear it. Some of the old coats—blue faced red—still remained in the regiment. Some of the light brown coats, lined and faced blue, from Colonel Van Shaick's old regiment, the Second New York, continued in service and were worn by those men who came with the Colonel into the First New York. The list of coats received by the regiment suggests that even though some were the color of the Colonel's former regiment, they were retained and put to use in the First New York.

The officers of the regiment lost no time in obtaining additional material to change the facings of their uniforms to red. Colonel Van Schaick set the example on January fourteenth when he secured two and one quarter yards of "Crimson Serge Dennim" and again on February third by procuring one-half yard of "Scarlet Broad Cloth."[20] Typical of the other officers to follow suit were Captain Van Ness who obtained four and one-half yards of "Scarlet Everlasting" on January twenty-fourth and Lieutenant Parsons who secured one and one-eighth yards of the same cloth on January twenty-fifth.[21] In an effort to secure a better grade of cloth for his uniform, on February fifteenth Captain Copp obtained a supply of "Scarlet Camblet"; a cloth made from silk, wool or other fibers or combination of fibers and characterized by a silky texture.[22] While there is no obvious indication as to the purpose for which it was obtained or whether it was used to fashion a uniform, Captain Copp also secured five yards of "fine Grey Ratteen," a thick, twilled woolen material.[23] The limited number of some items on the list points to the possibility of their being intended for the officers, particularly the red and blue breeches and the French coats.

Tents, blankets and camp kettles were extremely difficult to obtain. "The Army in this Department are in extreme want of tents and Camp Kettles."[24] "The Army in this Department is likely to be very much distressed for want of Tents and Blankets."[25] "Tents are the most difficult article to obtain."[26] These remarks by General Gates give some insight into the nonexistence of some items. Washington was well aware of the urgency of the situation and, while nothing was plentiful at any post, he directed that "every tent that can possibly be spared from Peeks Kill is to be sent up to Genl. Schuyler . . . the Army is without covering."[27]

At the direction of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, in early February, Colonel Van Schaick and Lieutenant John Ten Broeck endeavored to purchase blankets from the inhabitants on the west side of the river for the use of the troops.[28]

The First New York was not alone on its dire need for blankets. However, General Schuyler had sought the assistance of the Albany Committee in procuring blankets for the regiment.[29] General Schuyler even brought the urgency of the matter to General Washington's attention and the Commander-in-Chief's reply spelled out the state of affairs. "I wish it was in my power to furnish you with blankets for Van Schaick's Regiment, we are not half covered ourselves, nor do I see where we are to get them."[30] In its resolves, the Provincial Congress had attempted to provide a solution to the problem by indicating that "application be made to every householder in the counties of Dutchess, Westchester, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Tryon, Charlotta, Gloucester and Cumberland immediately to furnish for the use of said troops, as many pair of men's yarn stockings, and as many blankets as they can possibly spare; and that they be paid the value according to their quality, but not to exceed twelve shillings for each pair of stockings and forty-eight shillings for every blanket."[31]

The supply problems of the Continental Army were tremendous. Procurement was indeed difficult enough and, once obtained, the distribution of supplies to the proper place was subject to many pitfalls. General Gates' comment was typical of the many frustrating supply situations. "By some neglect or fraud, the Musket Cartridge paper designed for this department has never reached Albany or Ticonderoga."[32] Despite the honest efforts of many, connivance of one sort or another had long existed in the distribution of army supplies and it has been said that Albany had more than its share of scoundrels. Captain Varick had indicated last August that at Albany "the wagons will not ride unless they have prompt payment. It is shameful that publick officers are obliged to give their notes for money on interest to carry on the service. A number of wagoners had come down to this place this morning to carry sutlers' stores. I applied to Colonel Van Schaick for his order to prohibit sutlers' stores going up without his pass, which I begged him not to give. But the wagoners would sooner return home than ride for the publick. They say the publick is largely indebted to them, and they can get no money."[33] Sutlers' stores were one thing; food, ammunition, clothing and military stores were another. In many instances, troops were used to man the wagons and General Washington admitted that, "The necessity of drafting so many soldiers from the Army to make Waggoners of them is a very disagreeable circumstance."[34]

Flags and colours for the First New York, as well as most of the other New York regiments, have proven to be an enigma. Little or no information remains as to their appearance or design, and with one exception, none have been preserved. In May of 1776, General Washington had "written to General Putnam in the most pressing terms to give orders to all the Colonels to have colors immediately completed for their respective Regiments."[35] In November, Colonel Van Schaick, together with Colonels Van Cortlandt and Gansevoort, addressed the president of the Convention of the State of New York "begging" the Convention "to take into consideration the necessity of allowing colours to the battalions raised in this State during the War, as we cannot hear that any provision is made for them by Congress; we would also beg leave to suggest to you that we are at a loss to know where we shall furnish ourselves with drums and fifes. As we conceive both these matters to be of some importance, we beg your answer, with the sense of Convention upon the subject."[36] The resolve of the Provincial Congress on January first merely indicated that regimental colours did exist for the First New York.

Early in January, the First New York was divided into a number of contingents, each of which was assigned to garrison a particular post. Upwards of two hundred men were stationed at Fort George, ninety at Albany and sixty-three at Fort Edward.[37] Heretofore, the regiment had generally remained together and companies usually joined the main body of the regiment as soon as they were recruited to full strength. The fragmenting of the regiment was to continue for some time even though the practice was assailed by many as most undesirable. In a letter to the Provincial Congress on August 6, 1776, General Gates had indicated his position on the matter. "Regiments should not without the most urgent necessity, be scattered and broken in bits, as some of those are. The service of the United States demands it only in a few instances. When that is unavoidably the case, the duty should be done by detachment. As far as I can command it, the error shall be corrected."[38] General Washington expressed the same opinion to General McDougall. "I perfectly agree in your reasoning about a Regimental Spirit, and therefore think that such detachments of Gansevoort's Regiment as are with you should be sent to join their Corps at the Northward. If there are any of Van Schaick's in the same predicament, they should do the same, the Arms of both should be carried."[39] Washington's expression to McDougall came after his original instructions to all New York colonels to gather all of their recruits at Peeks Kill under McDougall's command. Obviously, the man who was to be immediately and directly concerned with all of the problems brought about by this kind of an arrangement of the First New York was Colonel Van Schaick. He was keenly aware of the difficulties involved and forthwith expressed his thoughts to the Provincial Congress. "I much lament the necessity of the Regiment being separated, which will prevent me from giving the necessary orders and instructions for disciplining the officers and men, and put it out of my power to see that the strictest attention is had to the soldiery, to keep up subordination and good order, matters of the first importance to new troops."[40] The Colonel took every opportunity to bring together the "separated" units of the regiment and his exhortation to General Gates on May twenty-third was just one example.[41]

> "Captain McCracken of my Regiment with his Company and Capt. Farnum with a Company of Col. Irnce's Regiment, are stationed at Fort Edward. I take the liberty to suggest to you whether or not it would not be better to let Capt. Farnum with his company Relieve Capt. Wendell's Company of my Regiment now stationed at Fort Ann, with orders for Capt. Wendel to joyn Capt. McCracken at Fort Edward which will be agreeable to officers and men as Capt. McCracken & Wendell belong to one Corps."

During 1777, units of the First New York Regiment were to see service at Albany, Fort George, Fort Edward, Fort Ann, Fort Miller, Fort Dayton, Fort Johnson, Fort Schuyler (Stanwix), Saratoga and Schenectady. In some instances, the First New York provided the entire garrison and on other occasions the regiment was part of the overall force.

The garrison at Fort George was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Cornelius Van Dyck of the First New York. The Fort itself had been built at the southern tip of Lake George about a mile southeast of the ruins of the old Fort William Henry. From a slight rise, it commanded an extensive northward view of the lake and formed one of the northern links in the chain of forts from Albany to Ticonderoga. "The Fort was part of an unfinished Bastion of an intended fortification. The Bastion was closed at the Gorge—in it was a Barack capable of containing between thirty and fifty men; without Ditch; without Well; without Cistern; without any picket to prevent an enemy from running over the wall; so small as not to contain above an hundred and fifty men; commanded by ground greatly overlooking it and within point blank shot, and so situated that five hundred men may lay between the bastion and the Lake, without being seen from this extremely defensible fortress."[42] Stone walls, breastworks and buildings were badly in need of repair and conditions generally left a great deal to be desired.

Early in the summer of 1776, a hospital had been established here to which all soldiers afflicted with the dread smallpox were sent. The officers of all corps had been instructed to take every precaution to prevent the spread of this fatal disease and to see that "all infected with the said disorder are removed to Fort George."[43] One woman from each company of the regiments stationed at Fort Ticonderoga was to be "draughted" and "sent to the hospital at Fort George to nurse the sick."[44] The number of sick soldiers mounted each day as the smallpox continued to spread. The count was reaching alarming proportions and the smallpox was threatening to spread to the civilian population. General Gates was extremely concerned and expressed his anxiety to the Commander-in-Chief. "Everything about this army is infected with the pestilence, the cloathes, the blankets, the air, and the ground they walk upon. To put this evil from us, a general hospital is established at Fort George where there are now between two and three thousand sick, and where every infected person is immediately sent."[45]

This was the situation when the First New York arrived on the scene. Colonel Van Schaick was disturbed, particularly because the Regiment was without a surgeon. On January eighth, he wrote to Robert Yates, chairman of the Committee of Arrangement, explaining that, "A Surgeon ought to be appointed without the lease loss of time & sent to me that I may forward him to Fort George, where part of my Regiment is stationed."[46] The men of the First New York were by no means immune to the smallpox, and in that kind of an atmosphere, the effective ranks of the Regiment were reduced by the loss of those who were afflicted and unfit for duty. Little progress had been made in obtaining the services of a surgeon at the Fort and, from Albany on February second, Colonel Van Schaick wrote again to the Committee of Arrangement.

> "I shall be extremely happy if my regiment could have the advantage of the surgeon's attendance who is appointed to it: the sick suffer much.
>
> At Fort George, there is a detachment of nearly two hundred men, of mine, many of them are daily falling sick, who with the help of the medicines at that post, and a surgeon's care, might be enabled in a short time to perform their duties."[47]

It might be well to point out at this juncture that of all the maladies which afflicted the Continental army, smallpox was probably the most prevalent and the most critical. It raged through the Northern army almost unchecked. Immunization by inoculation had been known in America since the early 1700's. However, a small percentage of those treated invariably died, and the practice was not universally accepted from a social or religious viewpoint. Opinion in the army was divided as to the advisability of the practice. More often than not, after a few deaths, the inoculation of the troops would be halted. General Washington was staunchly in favor of inoculation and said so to General McDougall, "I am much surprised to hear that the inoculation of the Troops had been countermanded, or the lease hint suggested of that sort. I have never done or said any thing Countenancing such a measure; on the contrary, I have pressed and urged the necessity of it in every instance, and I must request that not a moment may be delayed in carrying such of the Troops thro' that disorder, as have not had it."[48]

Under the circumstances, it is not difficult to understand why Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck had his share of desertions. A unique problem was created in that desertion and particularly "attempting to desert themselves and advising and persuading others to do the like" was a capital offense and required a trial by higher than a regimental court martial. Van Dyck was a strong believer that "examples are necessary to be made in the presence of the Corps the criminal belongs to."[49] General Gates agreed and instructed Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck to conduct a Garrison Court Martial for the punishment of the offenders.[50]

All post commanders had been alerted to keep a sharp eye for any sign or movement of the British or their Indian allies and to prevent depredations on the countryside by local Tories and their sympathizers. From a practical military viewpoint, this meant regular scouting parties and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, having had many years experience with the Indians, saw to it that such patrols were sent out, particularly to the northward. In many instances, these patrols were routine and relatively uneventful. On March nineteenth, however, a party of the First New York under the command of Second Lieutenant Nathaniel Henry of Captain Graham's Company, left Fort George and proceeded north up the west side of Lake George. Events started when Sergeant John Duncan and Private Nathaniel Reed were taken prisoners.[51] On the twentieth, the party was ambushed at Sabbath Day Point, about twelve miles north of Fort George. In the encounter which ensued Lieutenant Henry was wounded and Private Adam Coopernall and nine others were taken prisoner.[52] Lieutenant Henry and most of those taken prisoner were from Captain Graham's company. Two men, John Duncan and Nathaniel Reed, were from Captain Wendell's company.

The capture of Nathaniel Reed seemed to serve as an example of what frequently happened to those soldiers who were unlucky enough to be taken prisoner. There was nothing unusual about him and in some respects he typified the Continental soldier. At Albany, on December 5, 1776, he enlisted for the duration of the War as a private in Captain John Wendell's Company of the First New York. He had seen previous service in Colonel Snyder's Regiment of Ulster County militia. At the time Reed joined the First New York he was thirty-two years of age, a few years older than some of the other men. His height of five foot ten inches set him apart as being one of the taller men in the company. His appearance gave no evidence of ever having been afflicted with smallpox and was described as "Fair Complexion, Brown Hair and Greyish Eyes."[53] The scar on his right hand apparently left no permanent physical damage. Born in Norwalk, Connecticut, Reed was a carpenter by trade and had made his home in Westchester County. As a result of his capture on March nineteenth, Nathaniel Reed was confined in a British prison where he died on November 20, 1777.[54]

An attack upon Ticonderoga was expected momentarily, and it was generally concluded that if this were successful, Fort George would be next. On June twenty-eighth, Schuyler informed George Clinton that "The garrisons at Fort George and Skeensborough, not exceeding seven hundred men, and these I cannot draw away from their several stations; in every one of which they are already much to weak. I am in pain about Fort George but have no troops to throw in. . ."[55] To Pierre Van Cortlandt he indicated that, "I am very apprehensive that should a disaster befall the garrison at Tyconderoga, the enemy might possess themselves of Fort George before we can be in force to make opposition."[56] Generally there were few or no wagons available to remove the sick or the stores or anything else from Fort George. Rumors and tensions in the fort were mounting daily in anticipation of the attack everyone now knew was imminent. News of the evacuation of Ticonderoga and the abandonment of Fort Ann signaled the withdrawal from Fort George. In a last minute effort, some of the cannons and supplies were drawn off and on July sixteenth, the remaining garrison, including Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck and the Companies of the First New York, abandoned the Fort and proceeded south to Fort Edward.

After the fall of Ticonderoga, Fort Ann followed in short order. The English had constructed Fort Ann in 1757, about eleven miles south of Whitehall (Skenesborough) on the route to Fort Edward. A relatively small wooden stockade fortress, it had seen some service during the French and Indian War. However, like so many of the earlier forts, it had been allowed to deteriorate. General Schuyler had made the comment that he "had often jumped his horse over the remains of its ramparts."[57] Garrisons at most of the northern forts were generally weak, poorly supplied and not sufficient to withstand any sizeable or sustained attack. As already noted, in May, Captain Wendell's company of the First New York was stationed at Fort Ann. In an effort to consolidate some of the units of the Regiment, Colonel Van Schaick had requested the reassignment of Captain Wendell's company to Fort Edward.[58] The Colonel's efforts were successful and, with the exception of Lieutenant Sherwood and twenty-nine men, the company was reassigned. On June first, a return of "The Troops of the United States Stationed at Fort Ann under the Command of Adial Sherwood, Lieut." indicated the garrison to be twenty-nine men of the First New York.[59] By early July, the garrison at Fort Ann had been increased to about five hundred, "principally the invalids and convalescents of the Army."[60] Schuyler had instructed the garrison commander to defend the Fort. On July eighth the Americans mounted a brief attack against the oncoming British, momentarily repulsed them but with ammunition exhausted, were forced to give way. Fort Ann was put to the torch and the garrison retreated to Fort Edward.

Fort Edward had been built by the British in 1755. Fashioned of logs and earth sixteen feet high and twenty-two feet thick, it encompassed a barracks, hospital, magazine, storehouse and mounted six cannon. Its site at the junction of the Hudson River and Fort Edward Creek has been described as being the "first and nearest point on the Hudson when the troops, stores, etc., were landed while passing to or from the south end of Lake Champlain; a distance of about 25 miles."[61] The fort had been a prominent post during the French and Indian War and was destined to play an important role in the present conflict.

The Regimental Return of March twenty-fourth indicates sixty-three men of the First New York as part of the garrison at Fort Edward. Captain Joseph McCracken's company was still there on May twenty-third. On June second, a Return of the garrison at Fort Edward showed the garrison commander to be "Joseph McCracken, Capt. in Colo. Van Schaick's Regt." and the force to total ninety-one men, fifty-six of which were Captain McCracken's own company of the First New York.[62]

Early in July General Schuyler began to gather a sizable force near Fort Edward. On the twelfth, the troops under General St. Clair arrived. On the nineteenth, General Ten Broeck ordered his brigade of New York militia to Fort Edward. With the addition of further units the force soon numbered upwards of forty-five hundred, twenty-nine hundred Continental Troops plus militia. While all kinds of equipment and supplies were becoming extemely scarce, Captain McCracken's company and Captain Wendell's company were drawing small amounts of military stores at Fort Edward as late as July twenty-first. Some of the items are noted below.[63]

July 13th —	3 dozen musket cartridges	— "Joseph McCracken Capt^{n}"
	10 Dozen ditto ditto 1 dozen Flints	— "Lieut Jona^{n} Brown"
July 14th —	160 "Musquet Cartridges" 3 Cartouch boxes	— "Capt^{n}J. H. Wendell"
July 16th —	1 Old Drum 1 pair Drum Sticks 1 Drum Shell	— "Capt^{n}J. H. Wendell"
July 21st —	2 Quire Writing paper	— "John Armstrong"
	1 Quire Writing paper	— "Captain McCracken"

The murder of Jane McCrea, only a few days before Fort Edward was evacuated in the woods just south of the Fort was to become a rallying cry for the Colonials. Miss McCrea, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, twenty-three years of age and described by General Gates as "a young lady lovely to the sight,"[64] was on her way to join her fiance, a young Tory officer. Temporarily lodged at the home of a friend, Mrs. McNeil, she was captured by some of Burgoyne's Indian allies who had proceeded ahead of the main British army. On the way back to Fort Ann, she was shot and her scalp with long, flowing hair was removed. "A Picket Guard of one hundred men under the command of Lieutenant Van Vechten" first lieutenant in Captain Andrew Finck's Company of the First New York was stationed "on a hill a little north" of the spot where young Jane McCrea was butchered. Savages from the same force fell upon the Americans killing and scalping Lieutenant Tobias Van Vechten and several others.[65]

On July twenty-ninth, the Americans abandoned Fort Edward and retreated southward towards Fort Miller. The next day saw the British firmly encamped "on rising ground, about a mile south of Fort Edward."[66]

Fort Miller, a relatively small log and earthen fortification, about nine miles south of Fort Edward, had never been a post of great importance. A contingent of the First New York had been posted to guard Fort Miller Falls,[67] about an eighth of a mile west of the Fort and near the spot where the shallowness of the river made it the usual fording place. From Fort Miller on August ninth, Lieutenant William Digby of the British 53rd Regiment made some rather interesting observations regarding forts along the Hudson. "Few of the forts situated on the Hudson River in that part, are proof against cannon; they being built during the last war in order to defend stores and ammunition from the inroads of the Indians, who frequently came down in large numbers, plundering and scalping our first settlers residing contigous to that river, and were full sufficient to withstand any attack made with small arms."[68] By the thirty-first, the whole American force had crossed the river and reached Saratoga (Schuylerville).

Military garrisons were not new to Saratoga. Some type of fortification had existed there long before the French and Indian War and Saratoga was another post to which detachments of the First New York were assigned. Captain Andrew Finck's Company of the Regiment had been detailed to Saratoga early in April and, subsequently, Captain Finck had been designated as the officer "commanding at Saratoga."[69] Colonel Van Schaick spent most of the month of May at Saratoga and on May twenty-third, forwarded a Return of Captain Finck's company to General Gates, together with some of his comments regarding the assignment of the First New York at that post:

> "Inclosed you have a return of one Company of My Regiment which now remains to guard the four following places: Fort Miller Falls, the Landing at McLannen's Mills, the Barricks, the Public Stores & Battons below General Schuyler's house.
>
> Although I don't apprehend any danger of an enemy from the Northward, I judge it necessary that the above mention Posts should be guarded, to prevent the internal foes from Committing any Depradations on the Publick Stores which dayly continue to arrive at the above places."[70]

On June twenty-fifth, Major Christopher Yates had written to Captain Finck requesting a weekly Return of his company and to inform him that the company was soon to be relieved.[71] Captain Copp's company had arrived at Saratoga by July twenty-seventh. Small quantities of cartridges and flints continued to be obtained by Captain Copp for his company during the last few days in July and the first of August.[72]

For a number of years, General Philip Schuyler had made his summer residence at Saratoga, where he had built a comfortable home, mills and storehouses. During 1775 and 1776, barracks had been erected and together with the storehouses proved to be invaluable "as shelter to the soldiery marching either north or south and as a depot for army supplies."[73] Following the American withdrawal from Saratoga, the British troops "were put into the barracks built there for 1000 men by Gen. Schuyler. His house was a small way in our front and the best we had as yet seen in that part and much superior to many gentlemen's houses in Canada."[74] The unmounted cannon previously removed from Fort George had been brought to Schuyler's mills at Saratoga where the General ordered carriages to be made for them. "The mills were kept running night and day sawing up the stock of oak logs which had been collected for the building of bateaux for transport," and the incessant clang of the blacksmith's hammer forging the iron bespoke the steady pace at which the carriages were being put together.

The army remained at Saratoga for two days. Removal of the public stores from Schuyler's Mills and storehouses was begun immediately. Considerable supplies had been gathered at Saratoga, and having provided the guard for these stores, the First New York was in the thick of the removal operation. Unable to find a suitable position from which to make a stand, Schuyler instructed the drummers to beat what was becoming an alarmingly familiar order. Retreat. On August third, a new position was taken up twelve miles to the south at Stillwater. The position at Stillwater was also short-lived. A few days after the arrival, Schuyler withdrew the American army to Van Schaick's Island[75] in the Mohawk River, about ten miles above Albany.

Albany, the center of all military activity for the Northern Department, was the plum sought after by Burgoyne. All British efforts were to be directed towards this goal and Burgoyne had boasted that he would celebrate Christmas of 1777 in the city. Albany had been used to soldiers and military activities since the construction of Fort Orange in 1624. On the eve of the Revolution, the population of the city was upwards of 3,000 persons. Fort Frederick, a strong and comparatively extensive stone fortification, provided barracks for one thousand men, officers' quarters, magazines and storehouses and a hospital for 400 sick and wounded. The daily presence of soldiers, the familiar beat of the drum, the creaking of supply wagons, details of soldiers responding to the shouts and commands of non-commissioned officers, the going and coming of those in command, the resulting confusion and bustle: this was Albany.

Colonel Van Schaick's situation in Albany was in some respects similar to that which had existed for Colonel McDougall during the latter months of 1775 and the period in 1776 during which the Regiment was garrisoned in New York City. As we have seen, Colonel McDougall had been deeply involved in the affairs of the Provincial Congress which kept him from being with the Regiment. Colonel Van Schaick, as Commander at Albany and a member of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, was also forced to be absent from the other contingents of the Regiment stationed elsewhere. The Colonel's broader responsibilities also required Major Christopher Yates to be stationed at Albany and to have direct command of the contingent of the First New York garrisoned there. While he did spend some time at other posts, Colonel Van Schaick's primary headquarters remained at Albany.

Garrison duty at Albany inevitably provided more diversions for the men than assignment to a more remote post. For some time, it had been thought that because of the "great number of Persons Keeping Taverns and Tipling houses many of whom are disaffected to the measures pursued for the establishment of American Freedom, . . . there is reason to apprehend they have influenced many Soldiers to quit the Service."[76] Desertion being the problem it was, an arrangement was quickly established to regulate and license Tavernkeepers "in the City and County of Albany." In March, Colonel Van Schaick had indicated that since the Regiment had been reorganized into the "Third Establishment," desertions and deaths had numbered fifty-three.[77] In some instances, the ultimate penalty was inflicted as was the case of Private Robert George of Captain Copp's company who was shot for desertion on July 1, 1777 after having been mustered on April ninth.[78]

The main guard and jail for the Northern Department was located in Albany. In connection with this, Colonel Van Schaick was often called upon to furnish a guard for the escort of enemy prisoners, deserters and those taken into custody for one reason or another. Colonel Van Schaick's letters of August tenth and September third to the President of the New York Provincial Congress were typical of the activity regarding prisoners who funneled through Albany.

> "Albany, August 10th, 1777
>
> Sir—Pursuant to an order of the Honourable Major General Schuyler, I send under guard of a sergeant and twelve men, seventeen Canadians, taken near Ticonderoga at the time when our army evacuated that post.
>
> Your most humble servant,
> G. V. SCHAICK [79]

"Albany, Septem. 3rd, 1777

Sir—The inclosed is a list of prisoners taken by our scouts, &c. which I am directed to send to the Council of Safety of this State of New-York, and will be delivered herewith.

The Germans have requested to be sent to Philadelphia, and there permitted to work.

Your most humble servant,
G. V. Schaick[80]

A LIST OF PRISONERS OF WAR, TAKEN BY A SCOUT, &c.

Josua Ammon, George Shreather, Aroust Harnack, Philip Magabier—all of Major-General Van Reisdel's dragoons, and lately taken by a scout at Saratoga.

Edward Taylor, Benjn. Garvey, William McIntoch, David Dugless, Donal Grant, David Singsing, Indian—taken at Fort Schuyler.

John Nisme, Wm. Ralfman, Samuel Martin, Richard Mass, Samuel Wheeler, John Young—taken at Fort Dayton with Butler the spy.

Augustine Gerver, Nichlos Verdick—Canadians taken at Saratoga."

Details of soldiers were often required for the apprehension of individuals wanted by the authorities and from time to time, the First New York was called upon to perform "Military Police" duties.

The Albany Committee of Correspondence had "ordered that Collo. Van Schaick be requested to apprehend Major Edmunston . . . seize and take all the papers of the said Edmunston may be possessed of"[81] and to "send an officer to apprehend Major William Edmunston and to convey him to Kingston and deliver him to the Convention of this State."[82] It was not unusual for the Committee "to call on Colo. Van Schaick for a guard"[83] or to agree that "Collo Van Schaick be requested to furnish this Board with two officers to search for papers . . ."[84]

The gathering of a sizeable Indian force in Tryon County under Joseph Brant soon became the cause for considerable anxiety. It was generally agreed at a council called by General Schuyler, in which Colonel Van Schaick played an important role, that General Nicholas Herkimer should go to Unadilla to confer with the Indians. General Herkimer, in command of the Tryon County Militia, had been well acquainted with Brant and his activities for some time. Herkimer's force consisted of three hundred men of the Tryon County militia. As an added precaution, Colonel Van Schaick with one hundred fifty men, including a contingent of the First New York, went with him as far as Cherry Valley. Lack of provisions prevented Van Schaick from proceeding further, and by July fifteenth he had left Tryon County and returned to Albany.[85]

Colonel Van Schaick enjoyed General Schuyler's complete confidence. The importance and scope of the Colonel's position was exemplified by General Schuyler's communication to him from Fort Edward on July nineteenth:

"All Letters coming from the westward and Directed to me you will please to open and if they should contain Information that the Enemy are approaching Fort Schuyler or any other part of the Mohawk River, with such a force as to render it necessary that our Troops in that Quarter should be reinforced, you will then call upon the Militia of Schohary, Duanesburgh, Schenectady and Tryon County to march to oppose them and put yourself at the Head of them, leaving orders at Albany for any Continental Regiment that may arrive there immediately to march to your support for which I enclose You an order to be left with such Officer as you may direct to take the Command in your absence—You will order the Deputy Commissary General to make you a return of what provisions are at the Western Garrisons, and if you judge the Quantity insufficient, you will order him to send on a further supply without Delay—It is of Moment that you should be continually advised of the state of the Garrisons in that Quarter, and speedily informed of any of the enemies Movements. You will therefore give orders to the Commanding Officers of the Garrisons & posts for that purpose that care and attention to the Public Service which has marked your Conduct and entitled you to my thanks, I have the fullest confidence will be exerted on this occasion."[86]

All during the spring and summer, the situation with the Militia remained cause for concern. Tory depredations against the families and property of Militiamen were common, and "the Militia in general make grevious complaints about the sufferings of their families at home."[87] From Saratoga in May, Colonel Van Schaick had indicated "that the militia have continued to move off by detachments and companys—this day the Time Expires for which the last company was engaged and they are now on their march home."[88]

Burgoyne was getting closer to Albany and the situation appeared to be growing more alarming every day. The response of the various militia units was lethargic. On July twenty-sixth, Lieutenant John Ten Broeck of the First New York was sent, as part of a committee, to "repair to Schoharry, and there confer with the people of that District on the present state of affairs and endeavor to revive their spirits and arouse them for their state of supineness, as nothing can more effectually tend to save their Country from Rapine and devistation as a vigorous exertion of their own strength."[89]

By the time the American army had reached Van Schaick's Island, virtual panic had seized Albany and the fortunes of the American cause seemed to be going from bad to worse. The army was in wretched condition. Retreat, never inspiring, had been the order of the day since spring. Heavy rains had made passage over flooded, muddy, inadequate roads an almost impossible task requiring the utmost effort. In too many instances, pay was long overdue. Supplies of all kinds were inadequate. Sickness and desertion were rampant. After the fall of Fort Ticonderoga, Generals Schuyler and St. Clair fell further into disfavor in many quarters, adding to the dissension among various of the officers and units of the Northern Army. Discipline seemed to be lacking and morale was at an extremely low ebb. On August fourth, Philip Schuyler was relieved of the command of the Northern Army and Horatio Gates was named in his place. General Gates arrived at Van Schaick's Island to take command on the nineteenth. On the same day he took command, the General directed a letter to "Colonel Goose Van Schaick—Commanding in Albany" which gives some idea of the integral part played by Colonel Van Schaick.

"Albany, 19 August 1777

Sir:

General Washington by the discretion of the Honourable the Congress of the United States having ordered me to take command of the Army in the Northern Department, I think it proper to acquaint you therewith and also with my approbation of your appointment to Command in this City—As Col. Cortlandt and Col. Livingston's Regiments are hourly expected here from Peekskill, you will immediately upon their arrival inform them that it is my orders they march as soon as convenient to the Grand Camp at or near Half Moon & acquaint the Commanding Officer of those Two Regiments that he apply to the A.D.Q.M.G. for boats to carry the baggage, who has my orders to supply him—The vicinity of the Enemy to this City makes it extremely necessary that you should observe the Exactest Discipline & Keep the most vigilant scouts; constantly sending patrols and put scouts to prevent a sudden surprize. You Cannot be to frequent in ordering your Rounds to keep the sentrys alert, carefully attending to those who are placed upon the different stores and magazines. You will also have a very attentive eye to the Militia of this City who will in every thing be directed by the Committee to Cooperate with the Continental Troops. You will continually forward all expresses & intelligence to me at the Grand Camp. The A.D.Q.M.G. has my order to provide Horses & Expresses whenever you think proper to demand them from him—When any News or matter of importance, is to be communicated to me, you will be careful to send it by some officer, or Express in whom you repose the utmost confidence; many misfortunes arise by employing Treacherous persons to Convey Letters—As the Militia now upon the march from the Eastern and Southern States arrive you will acquaint them it is my orders they do not loiter in Albany, but proceed without any unnecessary delay to the Grand Camp, those wich such orders & direction as you may have heretofore received from the Hon. Maj. Gen. Schuyler are to be the rule and line of your present conduct, as circumstances require you will receive further directions from me.

I am Sir,
Horatio Gates"[90]

The Seige of Fort Schuyler (Stanwix) by the British under Colonel Barry St. Leger was the occasion for the dispatch of General Nicholas Herkimer, with upwards of eight hundred militiamen, to relieve the situation at the fort. While the Northern Army was at Stillwater, Schuyler had received news of the ambush and defeat of General Herkimer at Oriskany. In a letter to General Schuyler from Schenectady two days before Oriskany, Colonel Van Schaick had summed up the state of affairs in the Mohawk Valley.

"Schenectady, Aug't 4th 1777

D'r General:

Previous to the receipt of yours of the first Inst. I had ordered one half of the Militia of Schoharie and Schenectady to march immediately to the German Flatts. The Schoharie Committee have since informed me that they have countermanded my orders to Colo. Vroman and that none of their Militia can be spared. I have this day been trying to prevail on the militia of this Place but find to my great Surprize that not a man will go with me either from this place or Schoharie.

I have with me Lt. Colo. Brooks with near one hundred Continental troops, men & Boys; as none of the Militia can be prevailed on to march with me I should be glad to know if you intended that I should march on with these and put myself under the Command of Genl. Herkimer or send Lt. Colo. Brooks with those to the German Flatts. Herkimer has all his militia at the Flatts. Fort Schuyler has been lately reinforced with 350 men & a quantity of Provisions & ammunition. The Tryon County Committee in a Letter to me suppose Fort Schuyler to be besieged, but have no other reason for it than common report.

No Continental troops at Albany nor none expected made it useless for me to leave an order for a Regt. to march to my Support. I left Colo. Graton to command in Albany. He desired me to acquaint the General that his Indisposition was so great that it prevented him from going thro' the trouble & fatigue which daily attended.

I have the fullest confidence that you will not put me in a Situation to be commanded by General Herkimer, But on the contrary prevent it if that can consistently be done. I am with perfect Esteem,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,
G. V. Schaick"[91]

The last paragraph of Colonel Van Schaick's letter is appropriately worthy of a brief note at this point. Colonel Van Schaick, being a Continental Army officer, was reluctant to be put under the command of a militia officer, as was the case with General Herkimer. The officers and men of the militia were not considered to have the same general status as the officers and men in the Continental Army. The attitude and feeling of the Continental Army towards the militia was in many respects similar to that which the British Regulars had held for the American Provincials during the French and Indian War. General Schuyler's reply instructed Colonel Van Schaick to "order Lieut. Colonel Brooks to join General Herkimer and when you have seen that he is marched, then you are to return to Albany and take Command of that place where you are much wanted."[92]

In order to stem a tide which looked as though it would come from the west as well as the north, on August thirteenth, General Schuyler instructed General Benedict Arnold to proceed to the relief of Fort Schuyler with a force which included the First New York Regiment.[93] Colonel Van Schaick remained in Albany and the Regiment marched under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck.

Walter Butler had been captured, together with several others, at the Shoemaker Tavern, just across the river from Fort Dayton, during the night of August nineteenth. Colonel Van Schaick was to take note of Butler's capture in his report of prisoners to the President of the Council of Safety on September third. Shoemaker, because of his British sympathies, had permitted his house to become the meeting place for local Tories and the place where many clandestine activities and raids against the inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley were planned. Walter Butler's name and infamous reputation had already spread up and down the valley. On August twentieth, by order of General Arnold, Butler was tried before a general court martial as a spy. He was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. Under pressure, General Arnold granted a reprieve and Butler was sent to Albany. Of the twelve officers that sat on the Court at the trial of Walter Butler, three were selected from the First New York Regiment: Captain Joseph McCracken, Captain Benjamin Hicks and Lieutenant Bartholomew Van Valkenburgh.[94]

At a council of war, held at Fort Dayton on the twenty-first and attended by Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, Arnold advised the officers that "our whole force, rank and file, effectives nine hundred and thirty three and thirteen artillery men, exclusive of a fine militia, the whole not exceeding one hundred on whom little dependence can be placed."[95] Despite a decision of the council to remain at Fort Dayton until reinforcements could be brought up, Arnold pushed on to Fort Schuyler. The British and Indians, informed that Arnold's force was far superior to their own, had withdrawn from the siege of the fort. On the evening of the twenty-fourth, the First New York, together with the other units of Arnold's force, marched up the gentle slope surrounding the fort and through the gate "too late after so fatiguing a march to pursue the enemy that evening. Early next morning, a detachment of five hundred men followed them, soon after a heavy rain came which obliged them to return, except a small party who went on to the Oneida Lake, when they arrived just in time to see the last Boats of the Enemy going off."[96]

The immediate danger having been eliminated, Arnold was anxious to rejoin Gates for the coming contest with Burgoyne. He started back to Albany on the twenty-sixth. However, six companies of the First New

York remained at Fort Schuyler. Captain McCracken's Company was left to garrison Fort Johnson and Captain Copp's Company was left to garrison Fort Dayton.[97] All were "supplied with two months prov's and a good store of ammunition."

While the six companies of the First New York which remained at Fort Schuyler—Captain Graham's, Captain Finck's, Captain Hicks', Captain Van Ness', Captain McKeen's and Captain Wendell's—made up only a portion of the entire garrison, they were to gain some knowledge of their surroundings which, in time, would become all too familiar.

Some of the officers of the Regiment were away. On furlough were Major Yates; First Lieutenant Adiel Sherwood, Second Lieutenant Christopher Muller and Ensign Jeremiah C. Muller of Captain Wendell's company; Lieutenant Henry Van Woert, Quartermaster, was at Albany; Nicholas Van Rensselaer, First Lieutenant in Captain Graham's company, was "On Command" with General Schuyler's guard; Jacob J. Klock, Ensign in Captain Finck's company, was "On Command" at the German Flatts and Surgeon's Mate, Caleb Sweet, was with Captain Copp and his company at Fort Dayton. While in attendance at Fort Schuyler, Captain Benjamin Hicks was noted as being "Sick in Camp."[98]

The Regiment was part of the regular daily routine at the fort and the officers sat on the court martials held for the maintenance of discipline. Captain Graham served as officer of the day on September fifth and again on the fourteenth: Captain Wendell did the same duty on September twelfth and twenty-first.[99] The officer of the day was responsible to see that the "out Gates" were "shut at Dusk on the beating of the Long Roll" and that those ". . . Men who have their quarters within the Fort are to repair within the Fort on Pain of being punished for Disobedience of Orders."[100] Orders indicated further that "the Keys of the Gates" were to be delivered to the "Captain of the Day as soon as Tattooe beating is over" and that he was to make a personal inspection to see that ". . . the Gates are well Locked."[101] The inner gates, usually closed "immediately after Tattooe beating," were to remain secured until "Revalee is beat" and the outer or Piquet Gates not to be opened until sun rise.[102] Because of the momentary relief from the threat of attack, security at the fort was somewhat less stringent than it was to become fifteen or eighteen months hence. Nevertheless, it was not long before those troops that were encamped "abroad" were ordered ". . . to move within the FORT."[103]

Part of the responsibility of the officer of the day was to see that the soldiers made proper use of the "Necessaries" and to prevent anyone from ". . . easing themselves, in any other places about the Camp, or Garrison, except the Necessaries provided for that purpose. . . ."[104]

Every morning, the duty officer was instructed to "... take a walk around the Camp & Thro' every part of the Garrison ..." to see that orders thusly relating to the preservation of the Men's health were "fully complied with." Because the constant threat of a surprise attack had not yet returned as part of the daily life of the garrison, the gates of the fort remained open during the day. The soldiers were instructed "...not to make use of the Necessary House within the Fort in the Daytime, the one in the Ditch being designed for that purpose. ..."[105]

There were many rules and regulations particular to the various facets of life at Fort Schuyler. Some had grown out of safety measures and others had come about to correct an abuse. There had always been orders prohibiting the indiscriminate firing of muskets and the waste of ammunition. The adjutants of each regiment were constantly being reminded thereof. No horses or cattle were permitted to wander into the ditch. Rail burning was forbidden. Those officers or soldiers who had cows at the fort were cautioned "... to Remember that they receive their Feed from the Publick. Six Pence per Quart is the highest price that they may Receive for Milk—If any Person is found to take more that that Price, their Cows will be delivered over for the Use of the Sick of the Hospital."[106]

Adjutant Peter B. Tearse of the First New York and Adjutant George Sytez of the Third New York were both under orders "to do the duty of Adjutant by Rotation and be punctual in calling on the Commandant at 11 o'clock for Orders." Instructions to both Officers spelled out that, "the Adj^t^ of the day is to take all the men of those two Regiments, out to exercise every afternoon at 3 o'clock—who are not on Fatigue—including the old Guard & Cooks."[107]

Each regiment of infantry delivered "their proportion of Officers and Soldiers for all Guards and Fatigues ..."[108] according to the specifications set forth by the Garrison Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Marinus Willett of the Third New York. Instructions for parading and mounting the guard were set forth in great detail and each regiment's position was determined according to seniority.

At night, following "Tattooe beating", all soldiers were required to be in their quarters when "... all the Lights are to be put out ..."[109]

Colonel Gansevoort returned to Fort Schuyler on October first. Scouts were sent out daily to Oneida Lake to discover any approach of an enemy and bring an immediate warning to the fort. On Saturday, October fourth, the six companies of the First New York did the "Duty of the Garrison." Still at the fort on October twelfth, Sergeant Bernard McLaughlin of Captain Van Ness' Company was assigned to take an inventory of hides with the thought that they be sent to Albany and made into shoes as soon as possible. In less than three weeks, the First New York would depart from Fort Schuyler and go into winter quarters at Schenectady.

During the approximately two months of duty at Fort Schuyler, the officers of the First New York had an opportunity for a close association with those of the Third New York Regiment. Several officers of the Third were former officers of the First; among them, Lieutenant Colonel Marinus Willett, Captain Aaron Aorson, and Captain Leonard Bleeker. In addition to the latter two captains, other officers of the Third New York, particularly Captain Cornelius T. Jansen and Adjutant George Sytez, were men who would one day serve as officers in the First New York.

Fort Johnson, often referred to as Mount Johnson, on the Mohawk River, about three miles west of Amsterdam, was the home of Sir William Johnson before the completion of Johnson Hall at Johnstown in 1763. A large, two-story fieldstone mansion, it was intended to be a "fortress in the wilderness." A deep and substantial cellar provided storage for provisions. When war came, Fort Johnson was confiscated by the Colonists, together with the rest of the Johnson properties, and its leaden roof removed to make bullets for American muskets. Captain McCracken's company remained at Fort Johnson until the end of October when it removed to Schenectady to join the rest of the Regiment.

Fort Dayton, originally known as Old Fort Herkimer, was built during the French and Indian War on a site presently occupied by the Village of Herkimer. After the Seven Years War, it had been left to become "little better than a dilapidated blockhouse."[110] As the area became part of the bloody battleground of Colonial, Tory and Indian, Fort Dayton was strengthened and substantially fortified. It became an important link in the chain of forts along the Mohawk from Albany to Fort Schuyler.

"A Monthly Return of the Garrison at Fort Dayton, October 1, 1777" indicated 59 men of the First New York under the command of "John Copp Capt. & Commd't."[111] Captain Copp's company remained at Fort Dayton until the end of the month, when they too proceeded to Schenectady. The departure of the First New York from Fort Dayton gave great cause for alarm to the inhabitants of the area. On November second, William Petre, chairman of the Tryon County Committee, wrote to General Gates, "We are obligated to inform you that this Fort is left destitute of Continental Troops and is garrisoned by twelve of the militia only."[112]

After restoring his home and other buildings at Saratoga, destroyed by fire during Burgoyne's occupation, General Schuyler intended to remove his family to Saratoga. Because of the sizeable withdrawal of troops from the area and after Tories had kidnapped several prominent citizens and taken them to Canada, during the latter part of the year, a detail of twenty-four men from various companies of the First New York Regiment was selected as a permanent guard to General Schuyler. The provision returns of Betheul Washburn, deputy commissary of stores at Albany, show that provisions of various kinds including bread, beef, soap, candles, salt and peas were supplied to Schuyler's guard while on duty at the General's home at Saratoga during November and December.[113] This personal guard remained with the General throughout the war, and two of its members, John Ward and John Cokely, were with him when an attempt on his life was made at his home in Albany in August 1781.

On November third, Colonel Van Schaick advised General Gates that the First New York Regiment had arrived at Schenectady and were "billoted on the inhabitants and kindly received."[114] For the first time in many months, the various companies of the First New York were together and the Regiment was once again a unit. The quartering of the regiment in the homes of the inhabitants was made necessary because the barracks were already occupied by the "French People," refugees from Montreal. The prospect of winter quarters in Schenectady under these conditions was relatively pleasant. Henry Glen, Quartermaster at Schenectady, was a close personal friend of Colonel Van Schaick. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, a native of Schenectady, was well known to many influential citizens in the area and was a member of the Schenectady Committee of Correspondence. Major Christopher Yates and Captain John Graham were also from Schenectady. These relationships all tended to enhance the reception of the First New York and make the day-to-day life of the men just a little bit better.

Colonel Van Schaick returned to Albany shortly after the regiment had become settled in their winter quarters. However, always alert for opportunities to improve the condition of the regiment, and while still at Schenectady, following the surrender of Burgoyne, Colonel Van Schaick addressed a request to General Gates. "I beg leave to represent to the General that my Regiment have during the course of this War been furnished with the worst kind of arms without Bayonets & Especially last winter which arms still continue with the Regiment—I hope the General will please to give an order to the bearer Henry Van Woert my Q.M. for five hundred stand of arms with bayonets of those taken from the enemy at Saratoga & I shall give an order that the arms that have been drawn are returned and accounted for it lost."[115] Records at Fort Edward testified to the appropriateness of Colonel Van Schaick's contentions and indicated that on July eleventh, Captain Wendell had turned in "7 muskets"; on the twelfth, another "7 old muskets"; on the thirteenth, a receipt had been given to Captain Joseph McCracken for "five old muskets out of repair" and on the twentieth, "received of Captain Joseph McCracken Col^{o}. Van Schaicks Regt two old muskets." The pattern was the same at Stillwater, where on August twelfth, Sergeant Bernard McLaughlin of Captain Van Ness' company had turned in five damaged muskets.[116]

The burning of Schenectady in 1690 alerted the inhabitants to the need for a more adequate protection. The result was a series of forts of the wooden, stockade type. Queen Fort, originally built in 1705, consisted of a "triple stockade one hundred feet square with blockhouses at the four angles." It was rebuilt, enlarged and strengthened in 1735 and some further improvements were made in 1754. However, conforming to the general pattern of forts along the frontier, between improvements, it commanded little attention and quickly fell into disrepair. At the outset of hostilities with Great Britain, the fort was dismantled and its materials used to construct barracks for the Continental Army.

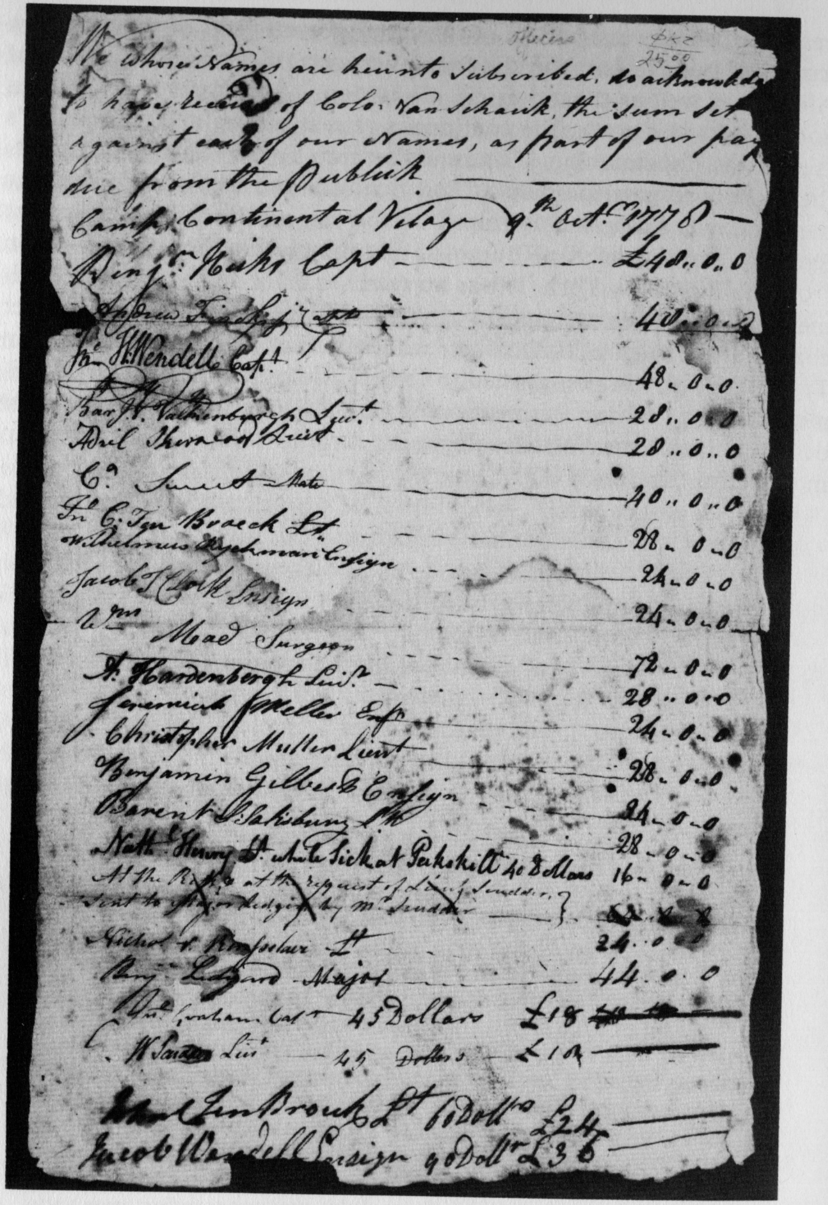
At Schenectady, the First New York once again settled down to the routine of garrison life. Typical of some of the supplies still drawn from Albany were the "1330 Dozen" musket cartridges procured for the Regiment by Captain Andrew Finck.[117] Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was frequently called upon by the Committee to supply "a file of men" or soldiers from the Regiment for various tasks. John Lafferty of Captain Hick's company entered a complaint to the Committee, "that his watch was stolen from him in the house of Hugh Oar and he suspects that Humphry Hartgrove who was in the house at the same time stole the said watch—Lafferty also said he had two evidences to prove the charge: viz-Sarah Culberson and John Holahan who both being duly sworn and examined and no plain proof appearing against him, resolved that he be kept in custody until another meeting."[118] Captain Hicks "Lodged a complaint against some of his soldiers selling their cloaths for liquor and desired a search warrant to search the house of one Harry Hill which was granted. The sergeant appointed to search returned and brought a bundle from Henry Hill; from Mat Clark, a bundle from Van Vorsts and two pair of stockings from Mr. McCreddles supposed to belong to the Soldiers."[119] Scoundrels and those only too willing to take advantage of the troops abounded in many quarters. At the same time, there were those soldiers who were quick to seize an opportunity for personal gain at the expense of the army. The combination frequently brought about complaints and necessitated action by either the civil or military authorities. Two days before Captain Hicks lodged his complaint and the sergeant retrieved a bundle of clothing from Mr. Van Vorst, the Committee had directed Van Vorst to deliver to the clerk of the General Hospital the effects of a soldier who had died there. Van Vorst had "detained" the effects and refused to deliver them. The Committee thereupon ordered him apprehended and taken to the Albany Gaol if he persisted in his refusal.[120] A general return of the sick and wounded in the General Hospital at Schenectady on November seventeenth showed the First New York to have only ten men confined there.

Major Christopher Yates, an attorney by profession, was desirous of leaving the service to practice law in Tryon County, as the courts of the state were soon to open. His request to General Gates stated that, "The Regiment I belong to being in Winter Quarters, it cannot be detrimental to the Service."[121] Subsequently, he did leave the Regiment and become the first Surrogate of Tryon County.

The men of Colonel Seth Warner's New Hampshire Regiment still remaining at Saratoga, were described by General Schuyler as "literally almost naked . . . uneasy that they cannot procure cloathing and desirous to be moved to the Grants where they can in some manner supply themselves."[122] It was agreed to permit Warner's regiment to return home for a time in order to become properly clothed. Because of the marauding activities of the local Tories, Gates agreed to replace Warner's regiment with two companies from the First New York, "provided they can be quartered until the barracks are built."[123] By the end of November, Warner's men had left for New Hampshire and subsequently, Captain Graham's and Captain Wendell's companies of the First New York were moved from Schenectady to Saratoga.[124] Having been requested to attend the Continental Congress late in December, General Gates left Colonel Van Schaick in full "command upon the Mohawk River."[125] As the year drew to a close, on December twenty-eighth, Gates set forth his instructions to Van Schaick:[126]

> "Sir:
>
> Your Regiment being quartered at Schenectady, and your proper post being with your Regiment, I have no doubt but upon the least alarm you will repair thither should the enemy attempt during the Winter Season to make any excursion upon the Mohawk River, you will be ready upon the shortest notice to march with your Regiment to the immediate succor of the part most likely to be attacked, Col. Gansevoort will give you such intelligence as from time to time he may receive of the enemy's designs, you will of course regulate your conduct accordingly—The two companies of Your Regiment now at Saratoga Barracks will be relieved by Col. Warner's Regiment when that Regiment arrives at Saratoga—Your two company's will return to their former quarters at Schenetady—Colonel James Livingston who is posted with his Regiment at Johns Town, has instructions to obey your orders when you think reinforcement necessary at any particular place.
>
> I am Sir your most obedient humble Servant
> Horatio Gates"

In retrospect, the year 1777 had been one of some anxiety and frustration for the men of the Regiment. Having been broken up for most of the year, the primary assignment of the various contingents of the First New York had been to garrison the forts and posts of the north and west of Albany, as well as the city itself. Conditions at the forts had not been good. From the north, the continuous retreat ending at Van Schaick's Island was disheartening. The excursion into Tryon County in August, the short-lived garrison duty at Fort Schuyler and the other forts along the Mohawk was generally more of the same. The stirring events at Saratoga and the defeat of Burgoyne all took place without participation from the First New York. It was no secret that for some time, the Regiment had desired an assignment to a more active role and to have another chance at the enemy. In October, while the First New York was still in Tryon County, it was suggested to General Gates that he recall the Regiment and the "reason for mentioning Colonel Van Schaick's is the great desire the gentlemen of that Regiment have in being called forth into more active Service . . ."[127]



We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, do acknowledge
to have received of Colo. Van Schaick, the sum set
against each of our Names, as part of our pay
due from the Publick ——
Camp Continental Village 9th Octr. 1778 —

Benjn. Hicks Capt	£40..0..0
Andrew Finck Jr. Captn	40..0..0
Jno. H. Wendell Capt.	48..0..0
Barnt. J. V. Valkenburgh Lieut.	28..0..0
Adiel Sherwood Lieut	28..0..0
Cd. Sweet Mate	40..0..0
Jn. C. Ten Broeck Lt.	28..0..0
Wilhelmus Ryckman Ensign	24..0..0
Jacob J. Klock Ensign	24..0..0
Wm. Mead Surgeon	72..0..0
A. Hardenbergh Lieut.	28..0..0
Jeremiah Miller Ensn.	24..0..0
Christopher Muller Lieut	28..0..0
Benjamin Gilbert Ensign	24..0..0
Barent Salsbury Lt	28..0..0
Nathl. Henry Lt. while Sick at Peekskill 40 Dollars	16..0..0
~~At the R[illegible] at the request of Lieut Scudder Sent to Major Ledyard by Mr. Scudder~~	~~[illegible]~~
Nichol. V. Rensselaer Lt	24..0..0
Benj. Ledyard Major	44..0..0
Wm. Graham Capt 45 Dollars	£18 ~~[illegible]~~
W. Sanders Lieut 45 Dollars	£18
John Ten Broeck Lt 60 Dollrs	£24
Jacob Wendell Ensign 90 Dollr	£36

Pay receipt signed by officers of the Regiment for pay advanced by Colonel Van Schaick.

Courtesy New-York Historical Society, New York.

FOUR

1778

Daniel McDonald had enlisted in Captain Copp's company of the First New York Regiment on Wednesday, March 12, 1777.[1] Albany was home for McDonald and whatever were his reasons for enlisting—patriotic, economic or personal—Captain Copp's vigorous recruiting efforts in the city persuaded him to "sign up." With his company, McDonald became part of the garrison at Albany, moved on to Saratoga, and in August he went with the regiment to Fort Schuyler. He remained with Captain Copp's company to garrison Fort Dayton and subsequently went into winter quarters with the regiment in Schenectady. McDonald's circumstances presented nothing unusual. He was like so many other farmers, tradesmen or laborers who joined the Continental Army. However, he had a seven year old son. While his father had been away, and for some time previous, the boy had been living with George Posses, a shoemaker. Shortly after his arrival at Schenectady, McDonald wished to bind the lad "out to an aprentise to some person." Posses would not release the boy. As a result, Daniel McDonald appealed to the Schenectady Committee of Correspondence before which group he appeared on February first.[2] McDonald told his story. Posses, also present, stated that he had kept the boy "one year and nine months" and would release the youngster if McDonald "will pay him fifteen pounds for his keeping." The Committee resolved that if McDonald would "pay to George Posses fifteen pounds (New York currency) on or before the fifteenth day of this ins't then Posses shall deliver up the boy—if not the said McDonald is to bind his son an aprentise to the said Posses and that the said Posses shall be bound to learn said boy the trade or calling of a shoemaker."[3] What became of the young lad is unknown. Daniel McDonald continued to serve with the Regiment and was ultimately discharged from the Corps of Invalids with "Impaired Eyesight" on November 2, 1782.[4] The incident affects the Regiment only insofar as it illustrates a somewhat typical personal problem of one of the men.

On October 28, 1777 John Brown enlisted for three years in Captain Graham's company of the First New York.[5] While his problem was somewhat different from McDonald's, on February third, Brown too sought the help of the Schenectady Committee complaining "that he has been lately on Command along with the Rest of his Company at Sarratoga and when he went from this Town to go on said command he left sundrey articles viz a fether bed and bedding, shirts and stockings, two brass cooking kettles, on Tin Kettle Teapott &c in the care of Elizabeth Robeson whom he kep as a Compenion for sometime and that on his return to Town from said command he was informed that the said Elizabeth Robeson had imbazled and made away with all his effects and was herself gon to Fort Schuyler along with another man. On making inquirey after said effects he has found that bed and bed clothes in possession of Sarah Culberson, a kettle in the custody of Petter Adair, another kettle in the custody of Mrs. Liddle, a black silk handkertchief in the custody of John the butcher, A British Soldier who lodges at the house of Sarah Culberson, which they refuse to deliver up to him."[6]

While winter quarters at Schenectady were relatively comfortable, the soldiers' lack of clothing was very evident. Colonel Van Schaick had laid the distress of the Regiment in this matter before Governor Clinton on several previous occasions. Now, once again, he wrote to the Governor saying, "May it please your Excellency, I send down the bearer Lieut. Nath'l Henry with a return of the Cloathing my Regiment stands in need of. I hope your Excellency will please to issue an order for those cloathing to be delivered to Lieut. Henry or such a part thereof as can be furnished out of the State Store."'[7] Governor Clinton was sympathetic to the lack of clothing in many of the New York Regiments; not only the First New York. He was quick to explain that, "The peculiar situation of this State cutt off by the enemy from every species of foreign trade and deprived of its most opulent settlements will fully account for the barren state of our Cloath'g store."[8] Nevertheless, the order was issued for "the one fourth part of all the Blankets, shoes, stockings, shirts, Coats, waistcoats and breeches" in the state store to be delivered "to Colo. Van Schaick or his order for the use of his Regt."'[9] The following "Bill of clothing delivered to Colonel Van Schaick" indicates those items turned over to Lieutenant Henry for the use of the First New York.[10]

"Colo'l Goose Van Schaick
To the State of New York Dr.

1778
26th February Delivered Lieut. Nathaniel Henry P
Order of Gover'or Clinton the following articles viz

Shirts	(280 White Shirts	@26/	£364
	(220 Chk Ditto	@24/	264
	(100 Flann'l Ditto	@24/	125
	75 Under Vests	@16/	60
	25 Pair Shoes	@16/	20
			£833

Rochester, 28th February 1778
John Henry Commy's of Cloath'g S.N.Y."

The Return of the Officers of the Regiment, signed by Colonel Van Schaick on January eighth, had reflected only minor changes from the previous list and indicated the following names:[11]

"Goose Van Schaick	Colonel
Cornelius Van Dyck	Lieutenant Colonel
Christopher P. Yates	Major
Peter B. Tearse	Adj^t
Henry Van Woert	Q^t Master
Abraham Ten Eyck	Paymaster
William Mead	Surgeon
Caleb Sweet	Mate
1st Company	
Joseph McCracken	Captain
Guy Young	1st Lieut
John Denny	2nd Lieut
Jonathan Brown	Ensign
2nd Company	
John Graham	Captain
Nicholas Van Renselaer	1st Lieut
Nathaniel Henry	2nd Lieut
Thomas Hicks	Ensign
3rd Company	
Andrew Finck	Captain
Bartholomew Van Valkenburgh	2nd Lieut
Jacob J. Klock	Ensign
4th Company	
John Copp	Captain
Barent Staats Salisbury	1st Lieut
Ephraim Snow	2nd Lieut
Benjamin Gilbert	Ensign
5th Company	
Benjamin Hicks	Captain
Charles Parsons	1st Lieut
Samuel Thorn	2nd Lieut
Wilhelmus Ryckman	Ensign
6th Company	
David Van Ness	Captain
John Houghkirk	1st Lieut
Abraham Hardenbergh	2nd Lieut
Jacob H. Wendell	Ensign
7th Company	
Robert McKeen	Captain
John Ten Broeck	1st Lieut
William Scudder	2nd Lieut
James Moore	Ensign
8th Company	
John H. Wendell	Captain
Adiel Sherwood	1st Lieut
Christopher Muller	2nd Lieut
Jeremiah Muller	Ensign"

In accordance with his desire to practice law, Major Christopher Yates had resigned his commission late in 1777. Even though his name still appeared on the rostra, the Regiment was without a major until April twenty-ninth when, as a result of a disagreement with his colonel in the Fourth New York Regiment, Major Benjamin Ledyard was named to that rank in the First New York and joined the Regiment on May first.[12] Major Ledyard was no stranger to the Regiment. He had served in the First New York as a captain during 1775 and most of 1776 and had been described as a good officer.

Two officers of the Regiment were absent without leave; Captain Robert McKeen, who was to resign on January twenty-ninth[13] and Ensign Thomas Hicks, who was subsequently reported "Deserted."[14] Lieutenant Samuel Thorn had resigned last December twenty-sixth.[15] Ensign James Moore was to resign on February twenty-eighth.[16] Lieutenant Nicholas Van Rensselaer remained "On Command" with General Schuyler's Guard at Saratoga where he had been assigned since October of last year when the unit was formed. Several of the officers were "On Command" at Saratoga, including Surgeon's Mate Caleb Sweet, and three officers were on furlough.

As early as December, Washington had mentioned to Gates the possibility of the First New York being assigned to the Highlands. In a letter of instructions to Captain Finck, Colo. Van Schaick indicated that a move for the First New York was in the making:

> "Albany, Feb'ry 3, 1778
>
> Sir:
>
> I have just received orders to hold myself in Readyness to march on the shortest notice with the whole of my Regim't Order Mr. Van Renselare to hold himself in Readyness with the party under his Command sent to Capt McCraken in my name to join his Company without loss of time No fourloughs must be Given Either Officers or men you will Receive orders to join me when I am on my march with the Regim't.
>
> Your Humb'e Serv't
> G. V. Schaick"[17]

The disposition of the First New York had been the subject of a number of conversations and it had been pointed out by Governor Clinton to the Marquis de LaFayette that "two companies of Van Schaick's Regiment will be of real service at Schohary."[18] The Albany Committee had previously expressed their wish to have the First New York Regiment remain in the Albany-Tryon County Area. However, knowing the desire of the officers and men of the Regiment for a more active assignment, Colonel Van Schaick appeared before the Committee and "requested that they would be pleased to write to his Excellency the Governor withdrawing their request to have his Regiment detained here."[19] The resultant letter to Governor Clinton not only complied with Colonel Van Schaick's request but also indicated why the Committee had wished to retain the First New York in the area and set forth some of the strong feeling prevalent among the officers and men of the Regiment.

> "Albany Committee Chamber 26th March 1778
>
> Sir,
>
> We wrote you some time ago and requested that Collo. Van Schaick's Regiment might remain here as the Officers and Men of that Regiment were well acquainted with the situation of this and Tryon Counties. This request has caused great uneasiness among the Officers, and several of them have absolutely declared that they will resign their Commissions in Case the Regiment is again divided and kept upon the Communication. The Collo. is also very uneasy about it and has earnestly requested the Committee to write your Excellency upon this subject.
>
> I am, therefore, directed by the Committee to inform your Excellency that as this matter gives uneasiness they do withdraw the request made to your Excellency, and wish the Regiment may be gratified and put in such a situation as that they may have an opportunity to serve their Country agreeable to their wishes.
>
> I am Your Excellency's Most Obt. Serv't.
> By Order John Barclay, Chairman"[20]

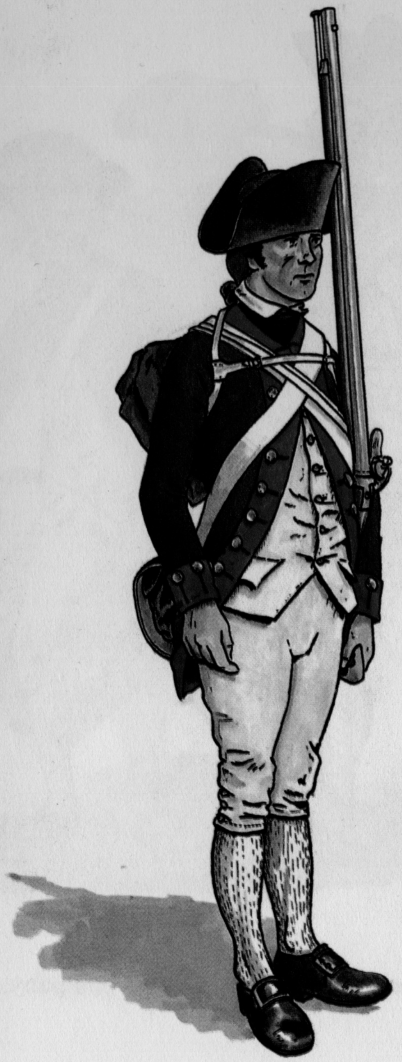
On March 20th, Washington wrote to LaFayette that he intended "to have Van Schaick's Regiment marched to the Highlands to receive the orders of Major General McDougall and desire that you will give orders in consequence to the Commanding Officer of that Regiment."[21] Washington referred to the First New York as "a full and fresh Regiment" when he confirmed to Congress that the Regiment was to proceed "immediately to the Highlands, where the public works are in a manner starved for want of hands."[22] A change in plan became apparent on March thirty-first when, from Valley Forge, Washington advised General McDougall that "I desire that Van Schaick's regiment, which has been ordered to Fishkills, may be directed to march without delay to join me."[23] Six companies of the Regiment left Schenectady in the early part of April bound for Albany. There they received an additional supply of cartridges in preparation for the trip to join General Washington. On April seventh, Sergeant Gilbert Bogart drew twelve hundred sixty musket cartridges, five hundred fifty flints and four "Cartouch boxes" for the use of Captain Van Ness' company.[24] At the same time, Quartermaster Sergeant William Selfridge of Captain McCracken's company drew two thousand five hundred thirty-two "Musq^{t} Cartridges" and two hundred sixty-six flints.[25] Captain Graham's and Captain Wendell's companies, stationed at Saratoga, arrived at Albany on April eighth. Following a few days in the city, during which Private Silas Green received fifty dozen musket cartridges for Captain Graham's company, the trip down the Hudson began without further delay. The advent of Spring and the fact that the journey was southward was, in some respects, fortunate because the Regiment had no tents.[26]

The removal of troops from the Mohawk Valley to the Highlands and Valley Forge caused some alarm for the safety of the Mohawk Valley area. From Albany General Conway expressed his concern to Governor Clinton. "I can not help repeating to your Excellency that nothing will be left between this and Fort Schuyler all that country remains open'd for the Indians and for the attempts of the enemy."[27] Expressing the same feeling and referring to the First New York, James Duane remarked to General Gates that, "Van Schaick's of this State which was 500 strong I saw go away with great reluctancy on my part."[28]

By May fifth the First New York had arrived at Valley Forge. Conditions there had improved somewhat and warmer weather made life more bearable. The appointment of Nathaniel Green as quartermaster general and Jeremiah Wadsworth as commissary general went a long way towards improving the situation. Through their combined efforts, supplies, particularly foodstuffs, began to funnel in to the Army.

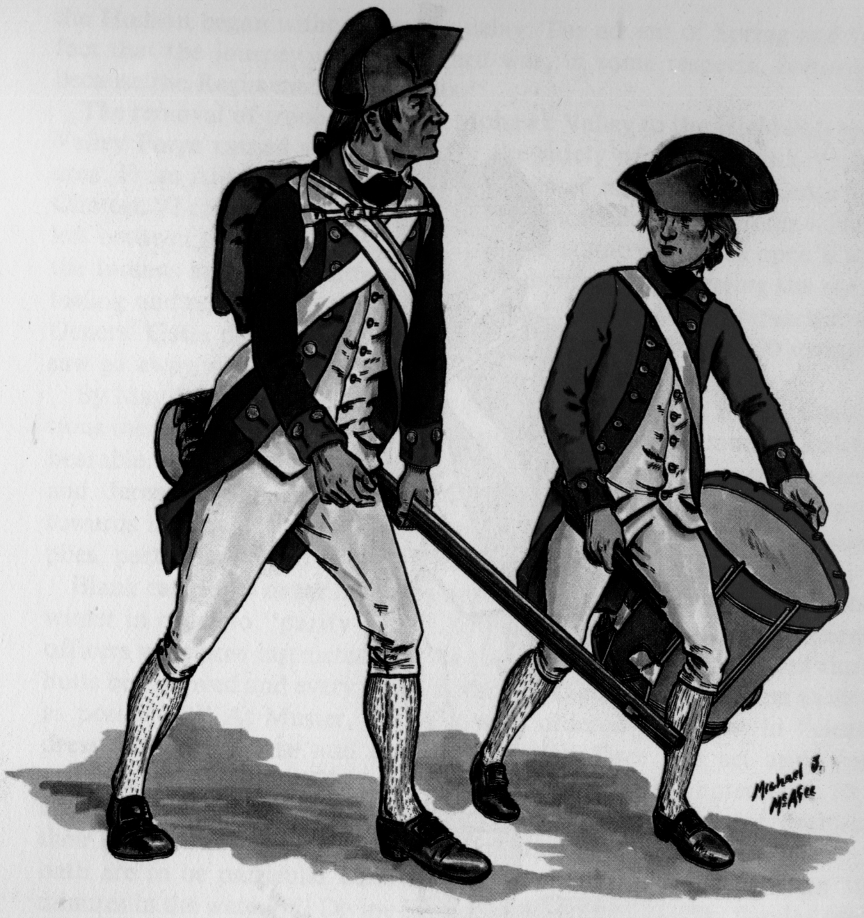
Blank cartridges or tar had been burned in the soldiers' huts during the winter in order to "purify the air." While this practice was continued, officers were now instructed to "see that the mud plastering about their hutts be removed and every other method be taken to render them as airy as possible."[29] At Muster, the men were ordered to parade in "clean dress with their arms and accoutriments."[30] Time was set aside for washing and bathing. "The troops are in future to be exempted from Exercise every Friday afternoon, which time is allowed them for washing their Linnen and for Bathing. The Sergeants who conducts the Squads to bath are to be particular carefull that no man remains longer than 10 minutes in the water."[31] Divine Service was performed every Sunday and all were expected to attend. Liquor presented the usual problems. Both sutlers and soldiers were instructed not to "sell or give any Rum or Spirits to Indians on any pretence whatever" and that "a breach of this order will be immediately and severely noticed."[32] Taverns and "Tipling Houses" were licensed, as was the case in the Albany area last year. The orders of May twenty-sixth were not unusual. "A Sub Sergt. Corpl and Eight men with the Commissary of each Brigade are to be sent Immediately to the Visinity of their Respective Brigades to Seize Liquors they may find in the Unlicensed Tipling Houses, the Commissary will give receipts for the Liquor they shall seize and Notify the Inhabitants or Persons living in the Visinity of the Camp that an Unconditional Sumn will be made of all Liquors they shall presume to sell in future."[33]

Arms and many items of equipment were still in extremely short supply. Orders directing that "the arms of the sick in each Regiment are

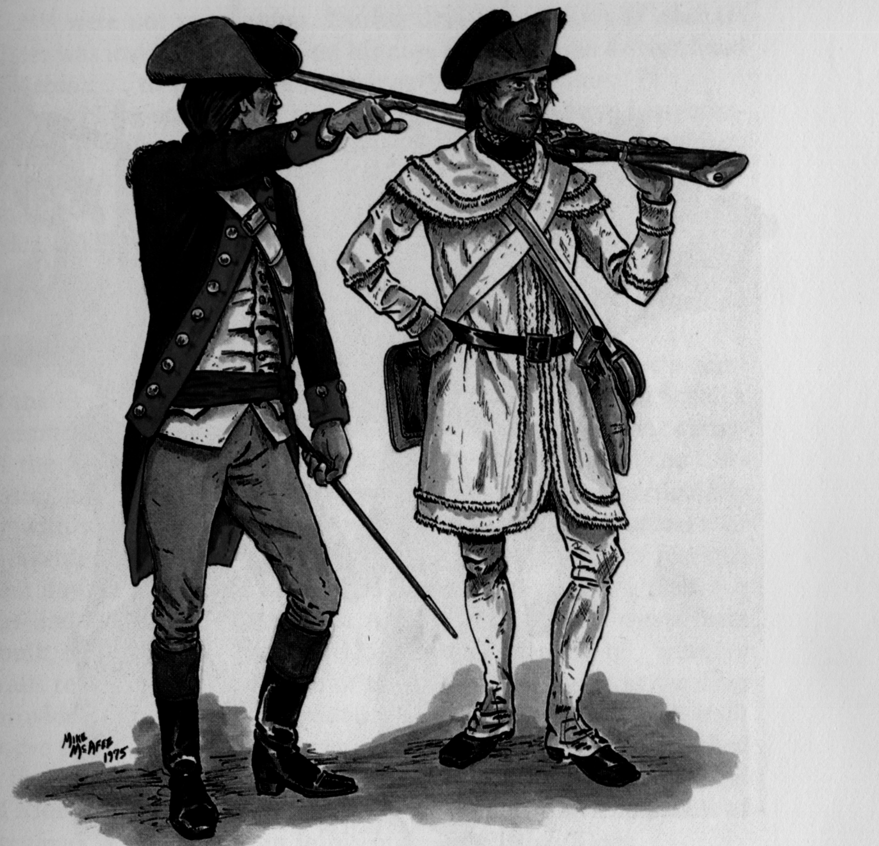


Private, Captain Benjamin Ledyard's company, 1775.

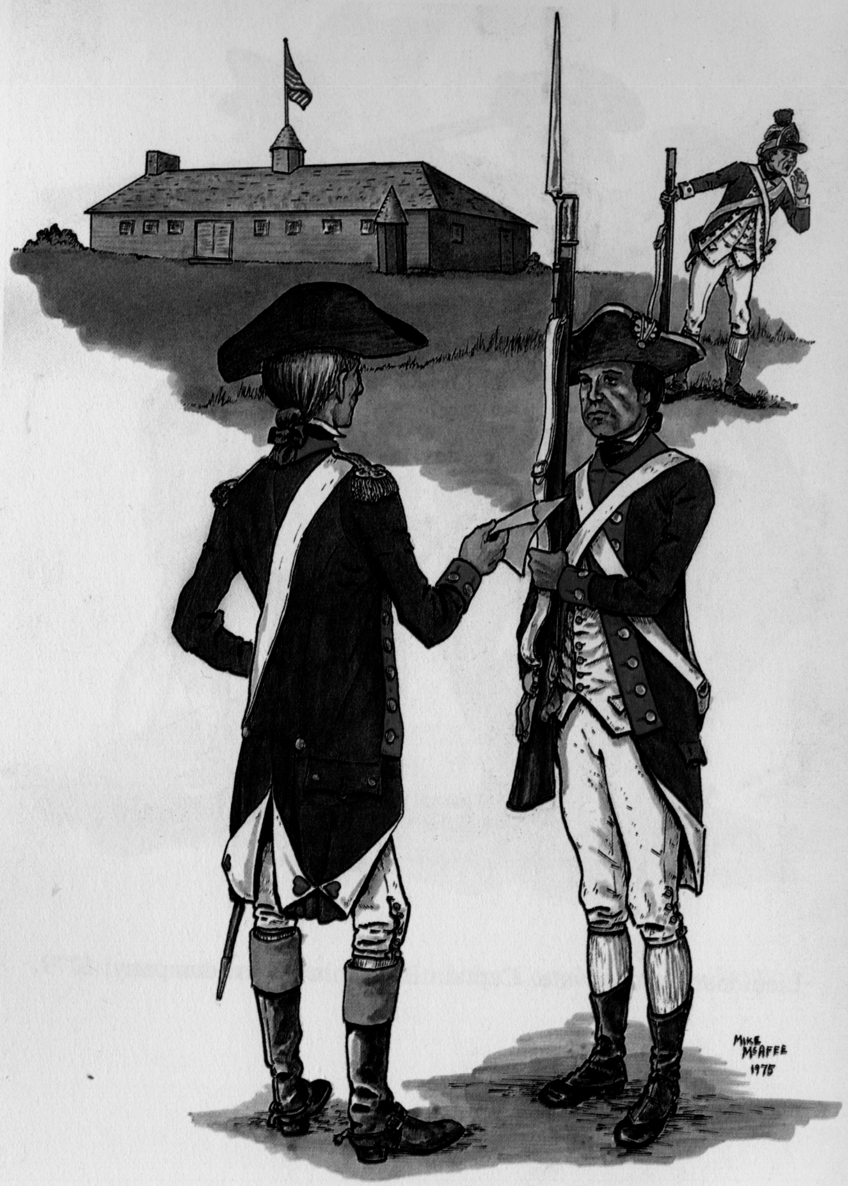
Paintings by Michael J. McAfee


Michael J. McAfee

Private and drummer, Captain John Copp's company, 1778.


Mike McAfee 1975

Lieutenant and private, Captain Benjamin Hicks' company, 1779.



Lt. Colonel Van Dyck and private, from Captain John C. Ten Broeck's company, and private, Captain Leonard Bleeker's light infantry company, 1783.

to supply, as far as may be necessary, the deficiency in it of those fit for duty . . ."[34] were not uncommon. During drill and periods of exercise each officer was instructed to see that his men had "wooden drivers fixed in their pieces . . . to prevent an unnecessary waste of flints."[35]

A custom of long-standing in most armies appears to have been common enough at Valley Forge to deserve notice in the following manner: "A most pernicious practice has in too many Instances prevailed of officers on leaving Camp either on Furlough or what is still worse, to quit the Service, taking with them Soldiers in the Capacity of Servants. This abuse is so Detrimental to the Army & So Injurious to the Publick is positively forbid. All Commanding Officers of Regiments are enjoined to prevent its being practised on any pretence whatsoever."[36]

Jacob J. Klock had been appointed ensign in Captain Finck's company of the First New York on January 13, 1777.[37] Colonel Van Schaick had recommended him to the Committee of Arrangement on the twenty-third of the previous December. Klock's family had settled at the German Flatts, in Tryon County, many years earlier and he was particularly familiar with that area of the Mohawk Valley. Before the outbreak of hostilities with Great Britain, Fort Klock, on the Mohawk River just east of present day St. Johnsville, provided a well-known gathering place for exchange and trade with the Indians. Actually, the "Fort" was a farm house built by Johannes Klock in 1750 and constructed of "massive stone walls resting on a foundation of solid rock." A spring in the deep cellar provided clear water and evidence that the house had been built with an eye to defense. With apparent good reason, Washington looked to the First New York in connection with the Mohawk Valley and selected Klock to carry out an assignment in that direction. The details of the assignment were spelled out in his orders to Ensign Klock.

> "Head Quarters, June 13, 1778
>
> Sir: Thirty four of the Indians who are in Camp being desirous of returning home, and it being necessary to commit them to the care of a prudent Officer who will preserve good order among them, I have appointed you for that purpose, and you are to conduct them to Fort Schuyler of the Neighbourhood of Johnstown. Pay the strictest attention to restraining them from irregularities, and causing any uneasiness to the Inhabitants on the road. You will draw provision for them upon giving your receipt at the Continental Magazines, as occasion may require.
>
> As you are going to the Neighbourhood of your own habitation, I have no objection to your taking a week or ten days for your private affairs. I am &ca."[38]

Orders relating to specific guards and guard duty changed from time to time depending upon circumstances. However, the standard system of camp guards, piquets and outposts used throughout the 18th Century remained the overall pattern. On May third it was noted that "no guard in Camp is to be suffered to remain on Duty more than Forty Eight hours without being reliev'd."[39] Piquet guards generally took up a position between the main camp and the outposts; usually two to three miles from camp. In the event of an attack, the piquet guard would support the outpost and delay the attack on the main camp. Two days after the "Huzza's" and celebrations in honor of the French Alliance, on May seventh, the First New York Regiment was ordered to "mount a Piquet Guard at Cuckold's Town till farther orders."[40] Cuckold's Town, or Cocklestown as it was sometimes called—referring to the "long leafed, purplish flowers that grow weed-like in the Wheat Fields," was situated in Trediffrin Township about three miles to the south and west of the main camp. One of the few roads through the wilderness of Trediffrin Township was the Swedesford Road along which troops of the Continental Army "moved forward through Cocklestown . . . to the Old Blue Ball, the earliest established tavern in inland Pennsylvania."[41] The following notices focus on some relatively minor daily happenings:[42]

> "Headquarters—May 11, 1778
> Two stray Horses taken up at Cuckold's Town—Inquire of Colo. Van Schaick."
>
> "Headquarters—Valley Forge—May 19, 1778
> . . . a number of stray horses in Colo. Van Schaick's Regt. at Cuckold's Town."

In a letter dated "Three Miles from Headquarters—June 7, 1778," Richard Mount, private in Captain Finck's company of the First New York throws some interesting light on the quality of the officers of the Regiment.

> "The most rigorous Discipline is observed in Camp. Officers are daily ________ for Neglect of Duty or ungentlemenlike Behaviour. The Genl seems determined to have good Officers. The Army at present is very well Officiered having lost many of the most unworthy. I oftentimes think it is very fortunate for this Regt that it is not in Camp for it was there two weeks I am certain we should lose many of our Officers."[43]

Describing the area surrounding the camp of the First New York, Mount continues; "here we behold the effects of Rapine, Plunder and Devastation and people who once lived in ease and affluence barely subsisting. Here the distressed farmers has not spirit to cultivate his fields not knowing who may reap the profits."

On the same day that the First New York was ordered to Cuckold's Town, Colonel Van Schaick had certified to a Return of Captain David Van Ness' company of the Regiment: "Sworn before me at Traydiffirin Near Camp Valley Forge, May 7, 1778—G.V. Schaick, Colo."[44] It is interesting to note that the company was mustered to a total of three officers and forty-eight men. Captain Van Ness is recorded as being absent without leave since April seventh. He never returned to his post and was subsequently dropped from the rolls of the Regiment.

Uncertain as to the exact direction the anticipated British move would make, Washington had for some time alerted the army that a "sudden and rapid movement" was probable at any time. Each man was to receive up to "forty rounds and two flints" and regimental commanders were alerted to "be in actual Readiness to march in a moments Warning."[45] Orders were issued for the care of the sick and wounded, the transport of baggage, and all of the myriad details involved in moving the entire army. All officers were "to pay the strictest attention that no women on any pretense whatsoever is to get in any of the Waggons belonging to the Army, on the March."[46]

On May thirty-first, the First New York Regiment had been "joined to the Second Pennsylvania Brigade in lieu of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment which is to be detached on other service."[47] The First and Second Pennsylvania Brigades, together with the Brigade lately commanded by General Conway, made up the second division of the army under the overall command of Brigadier General Anthony Wayne. At five o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, June eighteenth, General Wayne's division left Valley Forge headed for a crossing of the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry (now New Hope, Pennsylvania-Lambertville, New Jersey). Instructions were to "halt on the first strong ground after passing the Delaware River."[48] Wayne's division had followed by two hours the First Division of Major General Charles Lee composed of Poor's, Varnum's, and Huntington's Brigades. Both divisions crossed the Schuylkill River and proceeded about three miles before making camp for the night. Heavy rains on Friday made progress slow. The two advanced divisions, which included the First New York, "reached the river bank late on Friday night and on Saturday afternoon and evening crossed the Delaware River as ordered, at Coryell's Ferry, and after marching three miles, quartered at Amwell, in Hunterdon County, New Jersey."[49]

Washington's orders, issued from Coryell's Ferry on Monday, June twenty-second, indicated that the left wing of the army was to be under the command of Major General Lord Stirling and was to consist of "First Pennsylvania, Second Pennsylvania, late Conway's, Glover's, Larneds and Patersons Brigades."[50] Being attached to the Second Pennsylvania Brigade, the First New York, was part of the force under Lord Stirling.

By June twenty-third the entire army had reached Hopewell, New Jersey where they remained for two days cooking extra rations, disposing of heavy baggage, cleaning muskets and generally preparing for the coming encounter. The rostra of duty officers for Wednesday, June twenty-fourth, included Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck of the First New York.[51] On the twenty-fifth, the army was moved about seven miles to Rocky Hill. On the twenty-sixth, it moved on to Cranbury. By the morning of June twenty-eighth, the army had reached a position just above Englishtown.

It should be pointed out here that historians have generally agreed that a careful and detailed study of the Battle of Monmouth has been difficult. The varied nature of the terrain and the fact that both terrain and roads have undergone such drastic changes in original character as to make them to a large extent unrecognizable, has contributed to the difficulty. The moves and countermoves of the various regiments have added to the confusion and made some individual units a problem to identify. In addition, "General Lee seems to have assigned and reassigned his general officers to different detachments from the ones they commanded in the march from Valley Forge across New Jersey. For instance, General Wayne first had command of the First and Second Brigades of Pennsylvania Continentals, and Conway's Brigade, constituting Mifflin's Second Division; it is often called his Detachment. Afterward he was assigned to another detachment, consisting of two brigades, and still later, to three regiments of selected troops."[52]

June twenty-eighth was a Sunday. It also proved to be one of the hottest days of the year with temperatures well above ninety degrees. Major Benjamin Ledyard of the First New York had been assigned as one of the field officers to the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment. On the twenty-eighth, this regiment moved forward from Englishtown under the command of Colonel Richard Butler "to take the front and attack the enemy."[53] As the British were moving off, Butler's regiment took a position on their left flank. The enemy soon halted, formed their horse and made a charge upon the Ninth Pennsylvania. Fire from the American muskets broke the charge and the British were forced to retreat. A considerable cannonade soon developed on both sides. Butler having consulted with Major Ledyard and his other field officers, decided to withdraw his force a short distance and "ordered Major Ledyard to ride up towards the road we had advanced upon to see where our people were that we might join them again."[54] Major Ledyard "came back and informed me the enemy were moving on upon the plain ground, and it appeared to him our people had moved back."[55] The Ninth Pennsylvania then was moved to a position with the left wing of the American Army.

Following the "retreat" of General Charles Lee and his rebuke by Washington, the lines were reformed still maintaining the troops under Lord Stirling on the left, those under Greene on the right and those under

Wayne in the center. The British now directed their attention against the American left flank. A spirited British charge was repulsed by the Americans, including the First New York. A countercharge, in the face of a sharp British fire, drove the enemy from the field. The Redcoats were forced to "fall back to the low land of the west ravine where they formed again."[56] The enemy advance had been checked. This "gave time to make a disposition of the left wing and second line of the army upon an eminence, in a wood a little in the rear, covered by a morass in front. On this were placed some batteries of cannon by Lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing which played upon the enemy with great effect, and seconded by parties of infantry detached to oppose them effectually put a stop to their advance."[57] Having failed to break the American left wing, the British turned their attack to General Greene's position on the right wing. This was followed by an assault against Wayne's forces in the center. Both British attempts were driven back and, as daylight was beginning to fade, further action was put off until morning. A number of men from several companies of the First New York had been detached for service with Colonel Daniel Morgan's Virginia Riflemen.[58] However, Morgan's march to join the main body of the American Army from his position on the British right flank at Richmond Mills, (now Blue Ball) three miles from Freehold, was not completed until the evening of the twenty-eighth.

During the night of the twenty-eighth, Clinton slipped away and on the morning of the twenty-ninth, the Americans were in possession of the field. The burial of the dead of both sides was acomplished on the twenty-ninth by a detail of two hundred men under the supervision of Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck of the First New York. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck's report indicated twenty-nine Americans and two hundred seventeen British soldiers buried. Not included in these figures are the number of enemy dead buried by the British themselves.

The Battle of Monmouth has been described as one of the longest and one of the most severely contested during the war. It was the last major engagement to be fought in the north. In addition to the usual casualties of war, the excessive heat of the day took its toll of men on both sides. However, woolen uniforms, knapsacks, etc. made the heat more oppressive on the British and Hessians than the Americans who had previously unburdened themselves of their heavy baggage and equipment. The First New York had been in the thick of the heavy fighting on the American left under Lord Stirling. Colonel Van Schaick bore an important part in the successful American action while "under heavy fire at the Head of a Brigade of Lord Sterling which he commanded that day fighting on foot."[59] Typical of the conduct of the officers and men of the Regiment was Major Ledyard's tribute to Captain Copp who he described as having "distinguished himself in the field, particularly at the Battle of Monmouth."[60] The Regiment bore its share of the casualties of the day. The following is a list of the men of the First New York who fell at Monmouth:

"KILLED

Mathew Burve—Private—Capt. Joseph McCracken's Company—On March 3, 1777 Mathew Burve had enlisted for three years in Capt. McCracken's Company during its tour of duty at Fort Edward, New York.

Christian Guthrie—Private—Captain John Copp's Company—Christian Guthrie, whose home was in Connecticut, had enlisted on October 25, 1776. His enlistment was to have expired on July 1, 1778; two days after Monmouth.

WOUNDED

Captain Joseph McCracken—Joseph McCracken's left arm was shot away by a cannonball. The wound proved a problem for the rest of his life and some years later, it was reported that he was dying from the wound received at the Battle of Monmouth. He had been appointed Captain of the First Company of the Regiment on November 21, 1776. While muster rolls of the Officers of the Regiment for July and August 1778 list him as "wounded and absent", records indicate that he was promoted to the rank of Major and transferred to the Fourth New York Regiment on May 29, 1778. Captain McCracken was a resident of the Village of Salem in Washington County, New York.

First Lieutenant Charles Parsons—Captain Benjamin Hicks Company. The extent or nature of Lt. Parsons wounds are unknown. He was commissioned a Lieutenant in the Regiment on November 21, 1776. Parsons, a native of Williamstown, was promoted to Captain and given command of the Third Company of the Regiment on March 26, 1779.

William Elbertson—Private—Captain David Van Ness Company—William Elbertson, a laborer from New York City, had enlisted on February 22, 1777. He was wounded twice in the left leg at Monmouth and became a member of the Corps of Invalids. He was discharged by General Washington on April 23, 1782 and returned to his home, which had changed to Albany County, New York.

Robert Saunders—Private—Captain John Graham's Company—Robert Saunders, a farmer from Fort Miller, Albany County, New York had enlisted in Captain Graham's Company on March 16, 1777. The nature or extent of Saunder's wounds is unknown except that he became invalided at the Battle of Monmouth and was discharged from the Corps of Invalids on April 10, 1783.

DIED OF FATIGUE

Samuel Burch—Private—Captain McKeen's Company—Samuel Burch had enlisted on March 29, 1777. He died on July 20, 1778 as the result of fatigue and exhaustion experienced during the Battle of Monmouth.

John Sheely—Private—Captain Andrew Finck's Company—John Sheely enlisted for the duration of the war in Captain Finck's Company on October 7, 1777. He died on July 9, 1778 as the result of fatigue and exhaustion experienced during the Battle of Monmouth."

The way in which an officer conducted himself and his attention to duty in the face of the enemy was always open to scrutiny by his superiors. Generals, as well as other officers down the line, had been criticized and censured from time to time, and in some cases court-martialed and dismissed. Questions were raised as to the actions of some of the officers at the Battle of Monmouth. The case of Major General Charles Lee is well-known. Doubts apparently arose as to the conduct of Bartholomew Van Valkenburgh, first lieutenant in Captain Finck's company of the First New York. It was not until September first that a Court of Inquiry was convened at White Plains "to examine into the conduct of Lieutenant Van Valkenburgh on the 28th June 1778."[61] Time has obscured the reason for questioning Van Valkenburgh's conduct. However, "The Court having heard the evidence on both sides are of the opinion unanimously that Lieut Van Valkenburgh did his duty in the Platoon to which he was appointed as a Supernumerary Officer on the 28th day of June last and that he was not worthy of censure."[62]

Fearful that the British would move against the Hudson Highlands from their position in New York City, Washington was most anxious to move the army into a position from which the maximum protection could be afforded the Highlands. The sick and wounded at Monmouth were sent to the hospitals at "Princetown." All day Tuesday, June thirtieth, was spent at Englishtown resting and preparing for the long march under the grueling summer sun. Washington's orders indicated that "the troops are to be completed with provisions for tomorrow and have it cooked today. The whole army except Maxwell's Brigade is to move at two o'clock tomorrow morning—and everything is to be in the most perfect readiness tonight."[63]

One of the circumstances which plagued the Commander-in-Chief and with which Washington had always dealt severely was the plundering of the inhabitants of the area and the "marauding" by the American troops. Knapsack inspections had taken place on a number of previous occasions and Monmouth was to be no exception. "Complaint having been made to the Commander in Chief that certain persons belonging to the Army have seized the property of inhabitants which had been concealed in order to escape the ravages of the enemy, he calls upon the commanding officers of corps to order a strict search of the soldiers' packs at parade time, that the offender may be discovered and brought to condign punishment. Such articles as may be found agreeable to a list left at the Adjutant General's are to be sent to his office that they may be returned to their owners. The General further gives notice that the detestable crime of marauding will henceforth be punished with instant death."[64]

In the early morning of July first, the First New York Regiment took its place with the rest of Washington's army and left Englishtown headed north along the road to Spotswood. Men of the Regiment, as well as all of the other units on the march, continually dropped by the wayside overcome by the heat. The wagons were full of soldiers who had been picked up by the side of the road prostrate with heat exhaustion. At Spotswood the march was halted briefly and Washington instructed the troops "to take as much sleep and refreshment as possible that they may be better prepared."[65] On July second, the First New York reached Brunswick where they remained until the fourth. Once again the Regiment took to the parched, dusty road and trudged on to Scotch Plains, Springfield and Newark. The route of the Regiment north from Monmouth is almost outlined by a list of just a few of those men of the Regiment who were left sick along the way:[66]

Pvt. Henry Rice	Capt. McCracken's Company	Sick at Englishtown
Pvt. Samuel Garrett	Capt. Wendell's Company	left sick at Spotswood in State of N.J.
Pvt. Jacob Ackerson	Capt. Van Ness' Company	left sick on road at Spotswood
Cpl. Edward Tobin	Capt. Copp's Company	Sick in Brunswick
Pvt. Henry Cain	Capt. Copp's Company	Sick near Springfield

On July seventh, from the Regiment's camp at Newark, Colonel Van Schaick signed and certified to the muster rolls of the officers of the Regiment for the month of June.[67] The Regiment continued northward through the Hackensack area to Suffern and, by the middle of July, had reached Smith's Clove. The Clove, a protected and desirable stopping place for the army north of Suffern, in the Ramapo Pass, was the back door to West Point, New Windsor and Newburgh.

In an effort to prevent the flow of supplies and provisions from the inhabitants on the west side of the River into the British in New York city, on July nineteenth, Washington directed Colonel Van Schaick to move the First New York from the Clove to the vicinity of Orangetown, "Keeping sufficiently to the West of the village to be sure that the enemy did not surprise him by coming suddenly upon him from the North River landings."[68] From Orangetown the country to the south was to be kept under close watch and Colonel Van Schaick was instructed "to send out mixed patrols of horse and foot, using Capt. David Hopkin's Company of the Fourth Continental Dragoons",[69] stationed at Closter, New Jersey.

The main army continued on their march, crossed to the east side of the Hudson at Kings Ferry and proceeded south into Westchester County where it joined the troops under General Gates at White Plains on July twenty-fourth. The First New York's assignment at Orangetown proved to be of short duration and by August sixth, the Regiment had joined the rest of the army at White Plains.

The brigades of the army were realigned by General Washington on July twenty-second. Part of the rearrangement was the creation of the New York brigade under the command of Brigadier General James Clinton. The four line regiments from the state of New York commanded by Colonels Van Schaick, Van Cortlandt, H. B. Livingston and Dubois made up the newly formed brigade.

The assignment and promotion of officers and the filling of vacancies in the New York regiments was generally done by the Committee of Arrangement. Resignations, transfers, promotions, etc. made a "new arrangement" mandatory periodically to keep the regiments properly officered. The Regimental Commander actually prepared a list of officers for his regiment which was submitted to the Committee of Arrangement for approval. As a practical matter, the recommendations of the regimental commander were usually approved. The following new "arrangement" for the First New York was prepared by Colonel Van Schaick on August twenty-eighth.[70] It was to spark a sharp reaction both from within and without the Regiment. The primary cause for what was to follow was the fact that Captain John Copp was not included in the "new arrangement."

NAME	RANK
Goose Van Schaick	Colonel
Cornelius Van Dyck	Lieut. Colonel
Benjamin Ledyard	Major
William Mead	Surgeon
Caleb Sweet	Mate
Joseph McCracken	Captain
John Graham	Ditto
Andrew Finck	Ditto
Benjamin Hicks	Ditto
John H. Wendell	Ditto
Nicholas Van Rensselaer	Ditto
Charles Parson	Captain
Guy Young	Lieutenant
Barent Salisbury	Ditto
John C. Ten Broeck	Ditto
Adiel Sherwood	Ditto
Peter B. Tearse	Ditto

Nathaniel Henry	Ditto
Abraham Hardenburgh	Ditto
William Scudder	Ditto
John Denny	Ensign
Ephriam Snow	Ditto
Bartholomew Van Valkenburgh	Ditto
Henry Van Woert	Ditto
Abraham Ten Eyck	Ditto
Jacob H. Wendell	Ditto
Christopher Muller	Ditto
Jacob J. Klock	Ditto
Wilhelmus Ryckman	Ditto

Captain Copp had served as an officer in the First New York from the time the Regiment was raised on June 30, 1775. He had commanded a company of the First New York from the time Colonel Van Schaick had been named commander in November of 1776. We have seen that when Captain Copp's name was omitted by the Committee of Arrangement in early 1777, Colonel Van Schaick went to great lengths to have the Captain reinstated and retained in the Regiment. Now, however, it was quite apparent that the omission of Captain Copp was no oversight and that Colonel Van Schaick intended that he should be dropped from the Regiment. Captain Copp's reaction was sharp and bitter. His denunciation of Colonel Van Schaick was particularly caustic and left little doubt as to his feelings. It must be remembered, however, that here was a man who felt himself unjustly wronged and who responded with any accusation or intimidation he felt would shed favorable light on his contentions. No evidence has come to light to indicate whether or not Captain Copp ever voiced his bitterness to Colonel Van Schaick face to face. Nevertheless, on September third, he did express his innermost feelings in a letter to a personal friend, Mr. William Van Ingen of Schenectady, requesting that Mr. Van Ingen "conceal" Copp's remarks.[71]

> "Dear William:
>
> You will find inclosed what will much surprise you. Van Schaick taking Advantage of Col. Van Dyck's Major Ledyard's and my Absence, Settled the Business for me. As a Plea for his Baseness, he mention'd Brown's Affair to the Commissioners—my getting a Furlough & Leaving the Mohawk River without Orders some Time in 77 when I came down sick, which Mr. Glen very well remembers. Every Officer in the Army is astonished at the Treatment I have received. Instead of doing me an injury alone—he has done himself a much greater. He is branded throughout the Army with the Name of Scoundrel, Villain &c. The Name of Gentleman he has certainly lost, his being a Soldier every one doubts. My dear Friend will not this instance of his Malice convince you that he is one of the basest of Men. A complication of Dishonesty and Falsehood. It gives me still in the Midst of my misfortune a singular satisfaction to observe the unanimity of the Officers in dispising him and the Rest of his Clan. Finck and Wendell were with him constantly from the Time the Order for Arranging came out till he mounted his Horse to effect his diabolical purpose Mr. Renselar and Officer who has signalized *himself* is preserved to a Company. Lieutenant Parsons has one also I am sincerely glad of it—he is a worthy Officer—McCraken is a Major—His Cousin Tinbrook is Captn Lieutenant put over Young's and Salisbury's Head. Lieutenant Hooghkirk & Ensign Miller share my Fate. The *brave* Lt. Valkenbergh is continued. Van Woort & the Pay Master made Ensigns. I am still strugling to retrieve my Credit and all are of the Opinion that if Justice takes Place, I shall have satisfaction. I could have procured Numbers of Letters of the same Tenor from respectable Officers, but I was informed that these will be sufficient. My Affairs will not be settled till the Arrival of Col Van Dyck and Major Ledyard. He made use of their endeavors to get the Major out but that could not be done. He has likewise the Impudence to declare that Col. Van Dyck would have been left out if he had said one unfavorable Word or that he was even sickly—This, my dear Sir, is a concise Summary Description of this Infernal Affair pregnant with Malice, Partiality, Dishonesty and Complicated Villany. . . ."

While Colonel Van Schaick was a man of strong will and definite convictions and was probably not the easiest man to get along with, it is most unlikely that he was the villain described by Captain Copp. The Colonel was a professional soldier, a stern disciplinarian and generally demanded strict adherence to duty from his officers. Colonel Van Schaick had indicated that his reason for dropping Captain Copp's name from the rostra was that he was unfit to serve. The Captain, in his own letter of September 3rd, suggests the reason, "leaving the Mohawk River without orders, sometime in 77 when I came down sick."[72]

The Colonel, however, was not the first person with whom John Copp had had a difference. In May of 1776, obvious disagreement had developed between Captain Copp, then a lieutenant in Captain Weissenfel's Company, and Richard Varick. Varick's letter to Lieutenant Copp indicates his disdain for the Lieutenant and suggests not only the basis of the disagreement but the mode of proposed satisfaction.[73]

> "Sir—To be candid your note of last Friday Evening 8 O'clock was delivered my by your order the next morning about half an hour after your Departure from this Place—Just as I was going out of town.
>
> Unfortunate it is for me, that I have to deal with a man, who has not Candor to do me Common Justice, and an Officer of such disHonor as to postpone a just Resentment of a supposed atrocious Injury to a future, a Convenient Treason.—
>
> I have not time nor do I intended to trouble Myself with noticing the many Falsities, Impertinencies & dirty Invectives contained in yours nor do I intend to waive demanding satisfaction in the Civil Line for the Inquiries I may have rec'd from you . . . I do however hereby give you notice that I shall ever be ready to give a soldier like

> as well as Gentleman like satisfaction to you or any other Person that Imagines himself Insured by me & thinks proper to seek it. I therefore expect that you will make It a convenient Season at our very next meeting; Giving me proper notice of the Time and Place & manner in which you propose to take It. I must suppose Your Sensibility has deceived you with respect to the Duties due to a sacred & unblemished Character & in future Greater Liberties may be taken with Your Reputation as well as your Person:
>
> With the Spirit of a Freeborn American I disdain your threats & am happy to hear that my letters (written in Justice to myself) have roused you from a seeming Insensibility.
>
> I am happy that this *measure* was first adopted by you and do Humbly considering in the Justice of my cause, I readily Join You in the appeal & hope I have at last an Officer & a Gentleman of Spirit to deal with.
>
> You are on a disagreeable situation indeed. When unwilling or unable to render me a Just account of your transactions. You paint at a Manner of Satisfying Me which presuposes you to be a man of Honor & the Gentleman which Characters should at least include Common Honesty."

In an effort to bypass Colonel Van Schaick and appeal directly to the Committee of Arrangement, the Captain sought and received, testimonials as to his character and reputation from a number of highly respected sources. Copies of the letters written on his behalf were forwarded to Governor Clinton by Captain Copp. At the same time, he indicated to the Governor that "I am at a loss to know how to inform your Excellency of the Reason of my being neglected, as Colonel Van Schaick who solely recommended his officers and was the occasion of my being left out, never accused me with the least Fault in any Respect."[74]

Robert Troup, aide-de-camp to General Gates, in replying to Captain Copp asked, "What could induce Colonel Van Schaick to leave you out of the Arrangement of his Officers. Is it possible that he should treat a man of your education and established good character with so much injustice and Rascality?"[75] Troup also wrote to the Committee of Arrangement on Captain Copp's behalf indicating that they had been "fellow students at College" and recommending that Copp "be continued in the Army on an honorable footing."[76]

Major Benjamin Ledyard also addressed himself to the Committee of Arrangement on the same matter. "Through jealousy of a few of his equals and private pique of a Superior in Commission, there is an attempt made to turn him out of the Service that his whole soul is engaged in, with a murdered reputation."[77]

In a letter to the "Honorable Commissioners of Arrangements" Colonel John Lamb, directing himself to the assertion that Captain Copp was unfit to serve, declared "this assertion is unjust and not founded in truth."[78]

Personal jealousies and antagonisms were all too frequent at all levels of the Continental Army and it is not surprising that the officers of the First New York also had their differences. In any event, Colonel Van Schaick apparently relented and agreed to retain Captain Copp in the Regiment. It was not long, however, before Captain Copp sought Colonel Van Schaick's permission to resign. On July 9, 1779, permission was granted.

In an attempt to settle some of the disputes and jealousies over rank and preference, in September the Committee of Arrangement "agreed to the following Resolutions founded upon a report made by a board of General Officers of the whole line:

> 1st. That relative Rank in the Continental line of The Army between all the Colonells and Inferior Officers of the Different States Between like officers of Infantry and those of Horse and Artillery appointed under the authority of Congress by virtue of a Resolution of the 16 Sept. 1776 or by Virtue of any Subsequent Resolution from the 1st of January 1777 shall be deemed to have their Commissions Dated on the Day last mentioned and their relative Rank with Respect to each other in the Continental line of the Army shall be Determined from their Rank prior to the 16th of Sept. 1776. . . .
>
> 2nd. That in determining Rank of Officers in different States previous to the 16th Sept. 1776, preference shall be given in the first instance to Continental Commissions, to State Commissions of those Corps which have been Corporated in the Continental Army the latter have been Considered as Continental from time of their entering the Continental Service. . . .
>
> 3dly. All Colonells and Inferior Officers Appointed to Vacancies Since the 5th of January 1777 shall take Rank from their Right in Succession to such Vacancies.
>
> 4th. That in all where the rank between two Officers of different States is equal or between Officers of State Troops and one of the Cavelry, Artillery or of the additional Battalions then Seniority is to be determined by lott.
>
> 5th. That a Resignation entirely precludes any Claim of Benefit from former Rank under a new appointment.
>
> 6th. Adjutants Pay Mastrs. and Qr. Masters taken from the line shall be again admitted into it in the [same rank as they] would have been intitled to had they Continued in the line. . . .
>
> 7th. The Rules above laid down for the Determination of Rank between Officers of different States are to Govern between Officers of the same State unless where a Rule has been laid down by the State or Rank already settled in which Cases it is not the Intention of the Committee to Interfere."[79]

A change in the make up of the infantry regiments of the Continental Army was adopted in May 1778. Henceforth each regiment was to have nine companies instead of eight; the additional company being designated as light infantry. Men for the light infantry company were to be "draughted" from the other eight companies of the regiment. During the active campaign season, the light infantry companies of the various regiments were to form together into a Corps of Light Infantry. Command of the Light Infantry Company of the First New York was given to Captain John Graham. Other officers assigned to serve in the new company were Lieutenant Charles Parsons from Captain Hick's Company and Lieutenant William Scudder from the Sixth Company.[80] It was not until July that the new company began to take shape and the drafts began to arrive. By September, the ranks had been substantially filled and the Light Infantry Company was an established part of the Regiment. During the period of organization, and particularly during August, September and part of October, Major Ledyard was with the light infantry to aid in the formation of the company.

The encampment at White Plains, in many respects, involved the settling down again to the routine of camp life. For those who had the ability, there was more time to write and letters invariably caught up with the Regiment. This often meant reflecting on past events and pleasant occasions. Lieutenant William Scudder's reminiscences took him back to last winter in Schenectady when the Regiment was quartered there and the social life of some of the officers had its lighter side. He was pleased to hear from a close friend in the city, William Van Ingen, that still ". . . the Prety Ladies of Schenectady were flocking together like doves. . . ."[81] At the same time, he expressed concern and indicated that, ". . . I am inform'd the scandelous Peg ________ is pregnant & reports it is time and says further I promised her marriage—I would admit myself almost as happy to be wedded to an Indian Squaw. Pray Dear Bill inform me how the affair is as I am uneasy about the Report. . . ."[82]

The First New York supplied men for the main guard almost every day and usually more men than any of the other regiments in the New York brigade.[83] On several occasions, the Regiment provided men for "two days guard" When each man was "furnished with two days provisions and forty rounds per man."[84] Colonel Van Schaick served as field officer of the day on September eighth and again on September twenty-fifth and most of the officers of the Regiment served as officer of the day at one time or another.[85] After an active campaign or a period of extended action, the slower pace of camp life gave time for a number of details including court-martials. The camp at White Plains was no exception.

> "Headquarters, White Plains September 4, 1778
> Peter Wood of the First N. York Regt. was tryed for Robery and desertion Acquited of the charge of Robery but found guilty of Desertion and sentenced to receive one Hundred Lashes."[86]
>
> "October 12, 1778
> Bernerd McGlaughlin of Colo. V. Schaick's Regt was tryed for stealing John Babcock's Briches the Court Acquit him of the Teft and adjudge the Briches to Babcock."[87]

Overall, the death penalty was not meted out indiscriminately by the various court-martials. With some exceptions, Washington and the commanding officers generally went along with the punishments and decisions of the military courts. The brigade court-martial of John Yeomans, referred to as a member of the First New York Regiment, is an interesting exception. Referring to the case, Washington remarked to Colonel Van Schaick, "The Judgement of the Court appears very proper and the offender from his Crimes suitable to make an example of; but as I have been under the necessity of inflicting the punishment of death upon no less than seven persons in the different departments of the Army within a few days, I feel myself obliged to remit the punishment of the above person, after carrying him to the place of execution; lest the frequence of punishment should take off the good effects intended by it."[88]

Officers of the First New York were also called upon to sit on brigade courts-martial "to try all such prisoners as shall be brought before them" and on September fifth, Colonel Van Schaick provided one Captain and three Subalterns for such a court-martial.[89]

The creation of the New York Brigade had tended to solidify the New York Regiments. On September seventh, General Wayne's Second Pennsylvania Brigade and General Clinton's New York Brigade, including the First New York Regiment, were placed under the overall command of Major General Lord Stirling.[90]

The indiscriminate firing of muskets in and around the camp area had always been somewhat of a problem and generally required the constant attention of the officers. On September sixth, General Clinton, disturbed by the fact that "many soldiers of the Brigade make it a practice off firing at Squirrels, etc in the woods", ordered the officers to "Inspect the ammunition of their men daily."[91] The situation did not improve and shortly thereafter further regulations were forthcoming.

> "Head Quarters White Plains Sept. 14th 1778—General Orders
> The Consumtion of Amunition in the Army Considering there has been no action nor any Extraordinary weather to Injure the Cartridges in good tents as for the last two months been beyond discription but this is not to be wondered at when the Camp is Continually disturbed both within its own limits and in its vicinity by a Disorderly firing so many orders have been given to correct this abuse and induce the Exertions of the Officers to prevent; Punish Delinquents and make their Men Attentive to the preserving their amunition that it gives the General real pain to be compeld to a further repitition but finding himself hitherto Disappointed he positively Requires that Officers Commanding Companies will in future keep an Exact Account of the Cartridges delivered to their men Charging Six pence for every Cartridge which Cannot be Satisfactory accounted for besides Ad-

> ministering Corporal Punishment for neglect and Disobedience this Order is to be Regularly Red to the Men once a week in Presence of a Commissioned Officer to Obviate every plea of Ignorance."[92]

The problem reached such proportions in the Regiment that Colonel Van Schaick was compelled to take stern measures:

> "Regimental Orders—Sept. 14, 1778
> Any Soldier belonging to the first N. York Regt. who shall be found Firing his musket without Liberty from the Commanding officers of the Regt. shall receive Fifty Lashes without the Benefit of a Court Martial."[93]

Despite desertions and casualties, the strength of the Regiment had been maintained relatively well. On September thirteenth, Colonel Van Schaick reported the First New York to be mustered to a total of four hundred sixty-eight officers and men.[94] The position of the American troops was not void of contact with the British, including the resultant casualties. Typical skirmishes involving the First New York were described by Lieutenant Scudder:

> "In a drive just the other day we lost 14 of our troops and 23 Indians by the British Light Horse. We was surrounded on all sides by 79 Regulars and 5 light dragoons with about 70 of us Indians and all. The Indians were used in a barbarous manner."[95]
>
> The Regt I belong has since taken 13 Oxen and Horses from the Enemy & 3 privates were killed. Eleven on the ground. They were so stubborn that they would not surrender."[96]

Preparations were underway to move the army northward. The sick and wounded were to be transported to Tarrytown by wagon and thence to the hospital at Fishkill by boat. Orders indicated that:

> "Such of the sick in Camp who are able to walk may be immediately sent to Peekskill and Carefull Officers who will March them Moderate and attend Careful to their accomodations—they are to take their arms and Accoutrements with them—their packs to be sent down to Tarrytown and transported Fish Kill—Boats will meet this part of the sick at Peekskill and convey them to Fish Kill."[97]

On September sixteenth, the move northward began. The First New York was part of the long line of men and wagons which jammed the road to Peekskill. Before long, the Regiment was encamped at Peekskill and Continental Village, about five miles to the north. Continental Village had been established as a supply depot for the army early in the war and Peekskill had attracted the attention of the enemy on a number of previous occasions. The Regiment was to remain at Peekskill and Continental Village through October and the first few days of November. A comment of Lieutenant Scudder's on October fourteenth gives some feeling as to the condition of the Regiment: "Provisions are Plenty and Good Spirits."[98]

Part of the duty at Continental Village was constant vigilance along the Hudson River. British ships in the river were always cause for anxiety. On one occasion, Colonel Van Schaick advised Washington that, "I have sent off a party of Fifty men, well officered, to bring off a number of boats lying at Kings Ferry."[99] Washington's reply contained his thanks for "the precaution you have taken in removing the boats at Kings Ferry. Nothing ought to be left there which is of any use to us or might be to the Enemy."[100]

Many officers of the Continental Army had displayed their willingness to dip into their own personal resources to equip, maintain and pay their officers and men when such support was not forthcoming from the state or the Continental Congress. The First New York was extremely fortunate in this respect. Colonel McDougall had committed his personal funds and energies to equipping and maintaining the Regiment with unique success and in a manner to which other regiments aspired. Following the same pattern, Colonel Van Schaick did not hesitate to use his own personal funds when the needs of the Regiment required. A prime example occurred at Continental Village when on October ninth, Colonel Van Schaick advanced monies to the officers of the Regiment "as part of our pay due from the Publick."[101]

During most of the year, clothing and uniforms for the Regiment generally remained a problem. On August twenty-first the following items had been recorded as "cloathing wanted" for the First New York.[102]

Coats	441
Vests	441
Breeches	441
Stockings	882
Shirts	882
Hunting Shirts	882
Overalls	882
Hats	441
Stocks	882
Blankets	441

From White Plains only a few weeks later, on September twelfth, Colonel Van Schaick dispatched Lieutenant Ephram Snow to Governor Clinton with a request for ". . . such Clothing as can be had out of the State Store, Shirts, Shoes, & Stockings are the principle Articles Wanted at present, a few Coats &c of which Lieutenant Snow has a list, are also wanted. . . ."[103] In his letter the Colonel related to Governor Clinton that unless some items were received he would, ". . . in a few days have the Mortification to see, at least one Hundred Men unable to do the necessary Duty, for the want of Clothing." Merely emphasizing the situation, "100 men not fit for duty for want of cloths", was a notation made by Colonel Van Schaick on a Return of the First New York at White Plains on September thirteenth.[104]

Because of the "considerable Supply of Cloathing" drawn from the Public Store at White Plains by Colonel Van Cortlandt's and Colonel Livingston's regiments, supplies were presently exhausted, and there existed little or no prospect of anything becoming available to the First New York. In light of the clothing situation, Colonel Van Schaick drew a rather interesting comparison in his letter to the Governor pointing out that, ". . . my Regiment is Chiefly composed of Men inlisted to serve during the War—The others made up by Drafts from the States, (Whose term of inlistment will expire in a few months)—whome I concieve by no means are intitled to receive clothing, before the Standing forces are Supplied."[105]

Neither Colonel Van Schaick nor the other officers of the First New York were alone in their sentiments regarding clothing. Describing the feeling of the officers of all of the New York Regiments, Peter Curtenius, Commissary of Clothing for the State of New York, explained to Governor Clinton that, "our officers complain much that no cloathing is provided for them in the same manner the other states provide for their officers."[106] On October fourteenth, while the Regiment was still at Continental Village, Lieutenant Scudder had indicated in a letter that "our Army is to receive clothing this month."[107] One of the items of clothing to be received by the men of the First New York was a new regimental uniform coat—blue-faced red. A shipment of 20,000 coats had been received from France in two colors, brown-faced red and blue-faced red. Lots were drawn to determine what color coat each regiment was to receive. As a result of the drawing all of the New York Regiments acquired blue coats faced with red.[108] The receipt of new clothing was not the signal for the men discard existing items. Washington's instructions to all regiments required that, "When the men receive their new clothing, the regimental Q M is to collect the old Coats, Waistcoats and breeches, to have them packed, marked and put into store, and to make an exact Return of them to Hd. Quarters."[109]

Regimental uniform coats of blue faced red have identified the First New York since the Regiment was raised in June 1775.[110] Some variations during last year have already been noted. In October of 1776, however, Captain Richard Varick had included in his wardrobe of uniforms "1 Blue red faced Regimental Coat."[111] Continuing the same colors, this year, on August fifteenth, Colonel Van Schaick specified "one suit of cloathing wanted for each noncommissioned officer & private besides Regimentals for the officers Blue turned up with Red."[112] In the early months of the War, uniform coats in the First New York took the form of "short coats" the tails of which came down about half way between the waist and knee. These were similar in style to those worn by the light infantry companies. As time went on, coat tails grew longer and extended almost to the knee. The average life of a uniform coat was about a year, depending upon the rigor of the duty assignments of the wearer. With care, this might be extended somewhat. The fact that the First New York was relatively well-uniformed from the outset is attested to by General Montgomery's remarks at St. Johns, Captain Ledyard's request for payment for uniforms obtained by his men, and the reports of the Provincial Congress. As the uniform coats began to wear out, replacement became difficult. In any event, the uniform coats and clothing to be received by the First New York in October were indeed welcome.

The concern for the safety of the Mohawk Valley Area, expressed by many when most of the Continental troops were withdrawn earlier in the year, proved to be well-founded. Depredations by the enemy became more frequent and daring. The Indians and Redcoats under Joseph Brant and Walter Butler roamed the entire area virtually unchecked. The torch and tomahawk destroyed villages and crops and dealt death to the inhabitants. Captivity was the fate of many. The destruction of the German Flatts in September, seemed to typify the course of events and to provide a serious impetus to the concern for the area. In his letter of September twenty-seventh, Henry Glen had indicated to Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck that, "I have nothing particular but the unhappy affair of the German Flatts . . . several more of these bitter enemy came out at R. Schoemakers on the 17th with about 160 men and have destroy and burnt all the houses from William Dygert's to the Widow Herkermer's excepting Schoemaker's on the south side of the river. On the North the whole down to Canada Creek except Fort Dayton is safe."[113] In a report to Governor Clinton, Colonel Peter Bellinger of the Tryon County militia spelled out some of the details of the situation at the German Flatts.[114]

> "German Flatts, Sept'r the 19th 1778
>
> . . . On Thursday the 17th instant, about six in the morning, the Enemy attacked Fort Dayton, on the north side of the German Flatts and Burned and Destroy'd all the Houses, Barns, and Grain, and drove a great number of Horses, and horned Cattle away with them. The Church, Fort, together with two houses, is all that is left on that side, and they had two men kill'd and one wounded. The enemy tried to take Fort Dayton, but they kept them off. On the south side the River, they began about six miles above Fort Herkimer, and Burn'd all the Houses, Barns, and Grain quite down to the Church; at Fort Herkimer they tried to set fire to the Barn, but we sallied out with what men we could spare and kept them from Destroying any more houses. We have Built in our District four Garrisons, and have none but my Regiment to Guard them, and a few Rangers . . . Several

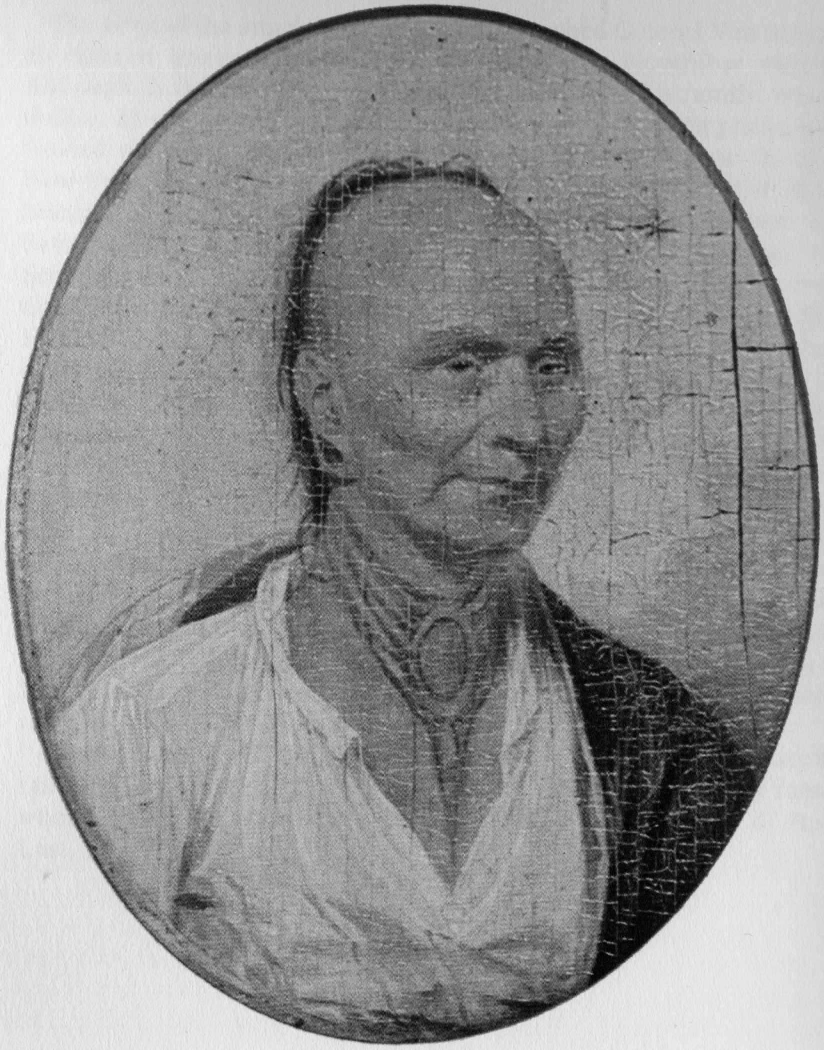
> times this Summer we have intelligence that they intended to Destroy this place, and I have wrote to General Starks in Albany for assistance, but could get none . . . Our case is really very hard, as the Enemy threatens us yet . . . I humbly hope Your Excellency will take our Circumstances into Consideration, and grant us a reinforcement sufficient to hinder the enemy from utterly ruining of us. . . ."

Against this background of events in the Mohawk Valley, on October seventeenth, Washington wrote to General James Clinton setting forth the assignment of the First New York: "I have determined to send Col. Van Schaick's Regiment to Fort Schuyler to relieve Col. Gansevoort. You will signify this to Col. Van Schaick that he may be preparing for it. So soon as the Cloathing, Expected in camp, arrives; he shall have an order for a competent supply and will then proceed. He can mention the matter to Col. Hay, who will be looking forward to a provision of vessels to convey the Regiment to Albany."[115] The tour of duty at Fort Schuyler (Stanwix) was to extend for almost two years, the longest assignment of the Regiment to any one place. On October eighteenth, all of the men of the First New York who had been on command with General Charles Scott at Norwalk were instructed to join the Regiment at Continental Village without delay. Having made the necessary arrangements for the Northward movement of the First New York, Colonel Van Schaick preceeded "the march of the Regiment by a few days in order to make some provision for my family at Albany where I shall be ready to join the Regt. and proceed with it to Fort Schuyler."[116] Continuing, the Colonel indicated that, ". . . my Lieutenant Colonel and almost all the officers are present."[117] November fourth was the last day on which any men of the First New York were detailed for duty at Continental Village or Peekskill.

The ravaging of the settlements in the Mohawk Valley was gaining momentum. On November eleventh, Fort Alden and the settlement at Cherry Valley were attacked. Reports indicated that, "The Enemy, not withstanding all our endeavours to the contrary, surprised us. . . . The enemy was very numerous; burnt all the buildings in the settlement, killed a great number of the inhabitants, men women & Children, carryed off many prisoners; some few that hid in the woods have got into the Fort. They collected all the cattle, horses & sheep they could and drove off. . . ."[118] Fort Alden fell to the attack of the Indians who returned on the fourteenth to complete the reduction of Cherry Valley. The story was the same as that of the German Flatts, destruction, death and captivity. Similar requests for aid were made by the Cherry Valley Committee as exemplified by their appeal to General LaFayette in March. "You was pleased to Promise us your very Friendly Assistance by sending up to our Settlement some of the Continental Troops . . . we humbly beg your Excellency will be pleased to think on our defenceless situation and as soon as your Excellency can with Propriety send the Troops up to us, shall Act in Conjunction with them as we are in dread every Night of being Attacked by the Enemy. . . . Several Families has already left the Settlement and many more will leave it without some Assistance is sent us speedily that may enable us to make a stand. . . . Another thing we have to lay before your Excellency is the Want of Arms and Ammunition as many of our Men lost them when they was wounded in the Battle at Arescu (Oriskany)."[119] The severity and completeness with which Cherry Valley was destroyed and the fact that it was only one in a chain of such events, signaled a new approach to the defense of the New York Frontier. Governor Clinton's portrayal of the situation and his suggestions for how the sad state of affairs might be remedied foretold some of what was to come in 1779.

> "Nov'r 17, 1778 Pokepsie.
>
> D'r Sir, I have this moment received the Letters & Papers of which the inclosed are Copies, giving the very disagreeable account of the Destruction of Cherry Valley by the enemy & of their having surprized & taken Fort Alden at that Place by Storm, which I begg you to lay before Congress for their Information. Fatal Experience has more than sufficiently taught us the Impracticability of defending our extensive Frontiers by the Militia of the County & the small Proportion of regular Troops imployed in that service against an Enemy acting upon a desultory Plan. There are so many Passes leading into the Different important Settlements to the Northward & westward which equally claim attention, that when the present Force is distributed for their Defence it becomes too weak to resist the united strength of the Enemy employed against any particular Point. Cherry Valley was occupied by Colo. Alden's Regt. and was, therefore, esteemed to be most secure; but even here the Enemy have proved too strong for us. This is the 7th valuable settlement in the state which this season has been destroyed exclusive the Injuries & Distresses experienced by Individuals. The Public have losst by the Destruction of these settlements some of the principle Granaries in this State from whence alone the army might have drawn supplies sufficient, at least to have prevented their present want.
>
> It is of the utmost Importance that some more effectual Measures than have hitherto been pursued be adobted for the Defence of the Frontiers & I am perswaded this can only be effected by Offensive Opperations, thereby carrying the War into the Enemy's Country, For which Purpose a proper Force ought to be imployed. I might say raised for, unless the Enemy at N.Y. leave us I can't think a Competent Force can be detached from the Main Army without leaving it too Weak. If the Enemy are suffered to continue their Depredations much longer the Consequence may be fatal, as this state will be disabled from furnishing any supplies to the army & hitherto they have depended upon it for Bread. I am Sir,
>
> George Clinton"[120]

The news of the attack on Cherry Valley reached Colonel Van Schaick at Albany during the morning of Thursday, November twelfth. Although in the city, the Colonel was on leave with his family. Nevertheless, he returned immediately to the Regiment. The companies were formed quickly, hasty preparations were made and by noon the First New York began its march up the Mohawk Valley to the relief of the beleagured settlements.[121] The Regiment reached Fort Johnson late Saturday evening. By two o'clock on Sunday morning, Colonel Van Schaick had received communications indicating that the final destruction of Cherry Valley had been completed by the enemy and that Fort Plank had been attacked. From his quarters at Fort Johnson, where candles burned throughout Saturday night and into Sunday morning, the fifteenth, Colonel Van Schaick advised General Hand that, "I shall march my Regt. for Canajohary as soon as the daylight appears."[122] By Tuesday, the seventeenth, the Regiment had reached "Caughnewaga", the present day Village of Fonda.[123] After a short halt, about mid-day, Colonel Van Schaick ordered the advance resumed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck with instructions to proceed to Fort Schuyler ". . . as Speedily as the advanced season of the year will admit. . . ."[124] From "Caughnewaga" the First New York pushed on up the valley to "Canajohary", Fort Plank and Fort Dayton; arriving at Fort Schuyler shortly after the end of the month. Colonel Van Schaick returned to Albany explaining that he had gone as far as "Caughnewaga" with the Regiment because of ". . . the unfortunate affair of Cherry Valley—that being now over I shall Return to my family whom I have not seen past twenty four hours since the first of April Last. . . ."[125]



Good Peter, Oneida chief and friend of the First New York Regiment. Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery.

FIVE

1779

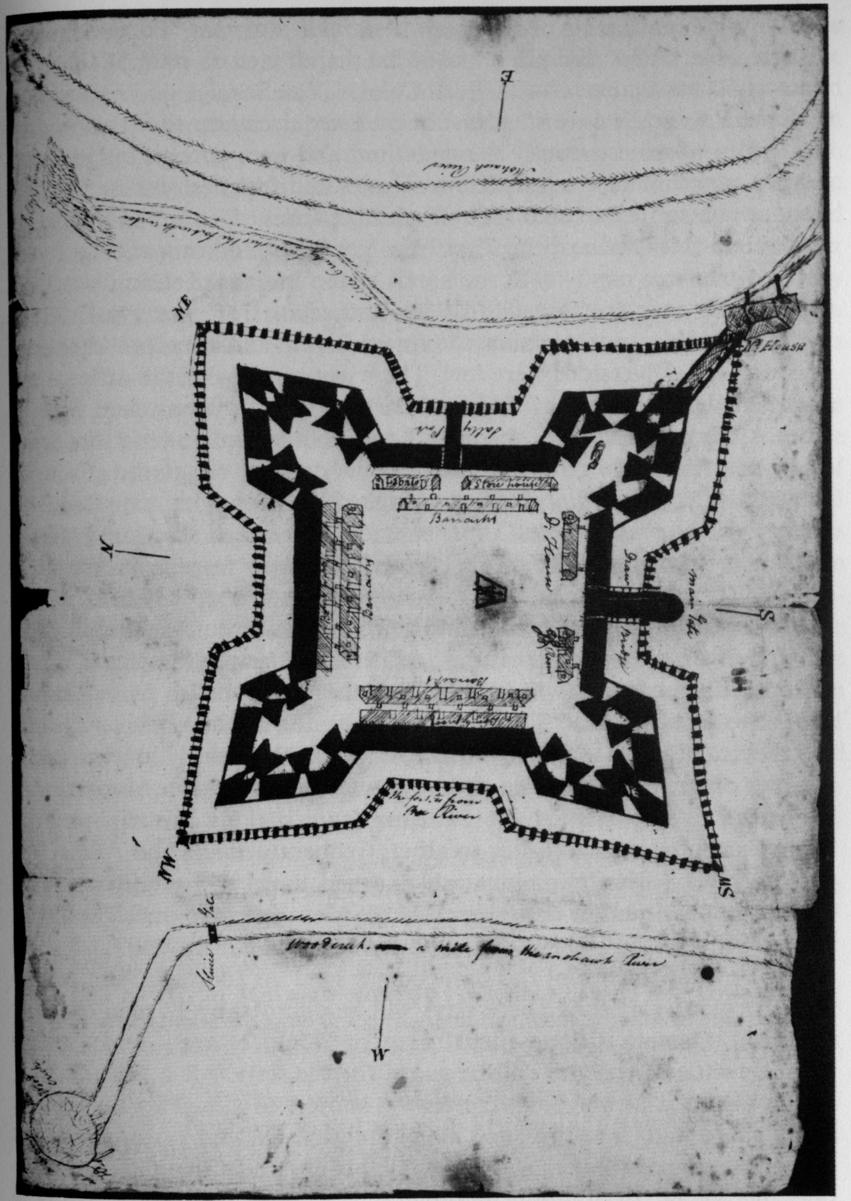
Ever since the early days of the struggle between England and France for domination of the Mohawk Valley, the mile-long portage, often referred to as the "Oneida Carrying Place" or the "Oneida Carry" between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, had been strategic to the control of the entire area. The Mohawk River was the water route westward from Albany and Schenectady. Wood Creek, the main tributary of Oneida Lake, provided the gateway by water to the lands of northwestern New York, Lake Ontario and Canada. The portage represented the only interruption of water communication between Schenectedy and Oswego. Particularly from a military standpoint, command of the portage was the key to all activity to and from the western areas of the Mohawk Valley. The construction of Fort Stanwix by the British in 1758, on a site now occupied by Rome, New York, seemed quite logical.

Located on slightly elevated ground overlooking the landing at the east end of the "Carry", at the navigable head of the Mohawk River, Fort Stanwix was the typical star shaped, Vauban type fortress of the eighteenth century. Walls of heavy timbers were surrounded by a glacis and a "well picketed ditch." The bomb proof bastions were constructed to mount a sufficient number of cannon: "southwest bastion, three guns; northwest bastion, four guns; northeast bastion, three guns; southeast bastion, four guns."[1] Barracks or casemates were provided for four hundred men together with separate quarters for officers. A "bomb proof" magazine for two thousand barrels of powder and extensive facilities for the safe storage of provisions were ample evidence that from the beginning it was intended that Fort Stanwix should be a well supplied and well garrisoned stronghold. An outside perimeter of some fourteen hundred and fifty feet made Fort Stanwix larger and more formidable than most other frontier forts. While the fort was erected at the direction of British General John Stanwix, much of the actual construction work was done by the New York Provincials under the command of Colonel John Bradstreet. It seemed rather appropriate that Goose Van Schaick, one of the Provincial officers under Bradstreet who was present at the building of Fort Stanwix,[2] should, some twenty years later, command the First New York Regiment which garrisoned the fort for a longer period than any other regiment.

After the French and Indian War, Fort Stanwix was neglected and soon fell into disrepair. Little or nothing was done to maintain the Fort until 1776 when, realizing the importance of defending New York's northern and western frontiers, General Washington instructed General Schuyler to rebuild Fort Stanwix and restore it to its former position of strength and prominence. Progress was slow. The work was still unfinished when Colonel Peter Ganesvoort took command of the Fort in the Spring of 1777. The name was changed from Fort Stanwix to Fort Schuyler in honor of General Philip Schuyler, Commander of the Northern Continental Army. Some confusion was created in the change of name to Fort Schuyler. Remaining from the French and Indian War, there already existed an old fort at present day Utica known as Fort Schuyler. The fort at Utica, while used to some extent during the Revolutionary War, never achieved any degree of prominence and became known as "Old Fort Schuyler."

Assignment to Fort Schuyler was frontier duty, never particularly desirable from the viewpoint of the men of any of the regiments that did garrison duty at that post. When in October of last year, Colonel Peter Ganesvoort was advised that his regiment was to be relieved at Fort Schuyler by Colonel Van Schaick's First New York, he seemed impatient that relief was not effected immediately and appeared unaware of some of the other settlements of the Mohawk Valley which had come under attack and to whose aid the First New York was directed, thereby delaying their arrival at Fort Schuyler. Expressing his anxiety to depart from Fort Schuyler, Colonel Gansevoort indicated to his wife, "We are all most out of patience to here of Colo. Van Schaick and his Regiment being on their March for our relief."[3] Again, a few days later, he exclaimed, "Why doesn't Van Schaick's Regiment arrive? Hopes he is on the way."[4]

The militia of the state was to have no more liking for garrison duty at Fort Schuyler than did the Continental regiments. Referring to Fort Schuyler, Governor Clinton remarked that, "the troops of this State conceive it a hardship to be perpetually to garrison that Post, it is become extremely disagreeable to them."[5] While concerned for Fort Schuyler, General Washington did not appear to consider garrison duty there unreasonable or more demanding than at some of the other frontier posts. Addressing himself to Governor Clinton the General wrote, "I am very sorry that the troops of your State should look upon it as a hardship to do the garrison duty of Fort Schuyler. I had always allotted it to them, as thinking it would be agreeable to both officers and men to guard their own Frontier, expecially when they were not continued an unreasonable time upon the tour. The Frontier posts of Pennsylvania and Virginia have been Constantly garrisoned by their own Regiments, which have not been relieved for these two years."[6]



Plan of Fort Schuyler (Stanwix) drawn by Barnardus Swartout, a soldier stationed at the fort in 1777.

Courtesy New-York Historical Society, New York.

Many circumstances combined to make duty at Fort Schuyler disagreeable. Strict discipline had to be maintained as part of the constant vigilance against attack. Both Colonel Van Schaick and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck were steadfast in their requirements that the men of the Regiment adhere strictly to regulations and were unrelenting in meteing out punishment for infractions. Duties and fatigues outside the fort were always subject to ambush and raiding parties of Tories and Indians. More than a few men of the First New York were to know the agony of death, torture or captivity at the hands of the Indians. Tension was kept high by the constant threat of attack and reports of enemy gatherings with the intent to move against the fort. Idleness and boredom were part of every day. Diversions were few. The wives of some of the officers accompanied their husbands. Some of the men brought along their women from Albany. For most of the men, however, the camaraderie that went along with the usual ration of rum was the primary relaxation. Captain Copp, whose wife had accompanied him to Fort Schuyler, expressed his feeling for the assignment in a subsequent remark to Henry Glen. "Fishkills is far preferable to Fort Schuyler in many respects particularly on account of sociability."[7]

Winters were extremely cold and clothing was seldom adequate. The moving of supplies and provisions to Fort Schuyler was subject to many pitfalls. Much of what was consumed at the fort came up from Albany and Schenectady, primarily by batteaux on the Mohawk River. Some supplies came by wagon over the King's Road. Particularly in winter, the weather often governed when and how much could be sent. Many times, ice in the river prevented the batteaux from making the trip to Fort Schuyler. Snow and freezing weather frequently made the roads impassable and Spring rains invariably turned them into muddy ruts. A typical supply situation was transmitted to Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck at Fort Schuyler by Henry Glen, Quartermaster at Schenectady. "I shall whenever a few inches of the snow comes send up 150 slays with provisions for your garrison. There slays will be guarded by 32 men of your regiment. Captain Copp, Lieut. Henry, Doctor Sweet, and Ensign Wendele with 32 privates will be guard for the slay."[8]

The Batteaux or wagons were always subject to attack by the enemy and a guard had to be provided along the way. On many occasions, the proper convoy of soldiers was not available and this usually meant considerable delay. In addition to the ever present possibility of losing a shipment of supplies and provisions to the enemy, shipments intended for Fort Schuyler often diminished along the way. Some of a shipment of cattle were often killed and consumed at one of the stopping points. Flour and foodstuffs frequently were short in arriving at the Fort. Some quantities of powder, lead and supplies of all kinds invariably seemed to get diverted to other destinations or were consumed en route.

January 1779 saw the Regiment mustered to a total strength of three hundred eighty-three officers and men,[9] somewhat better than half the authorized strength of six hundred forty-eight. Two hundred thirty-seven men were fit for duty; nineteen sick present, forty sick absent, and ten on furlough. Twenty men of the Regiment remained at Saratoga with General Schuyler as his personal guard.[10] Later in the month, Captain Copp was to move on to Oneida with fifty-three men. Having received their new regimental coats, blue faced red, together with some other items of uniform and clothing, the First New York made a relatively good appearance as it arrived at Fort Schuyler in December. Colonel Van Schaick had remained in Albany and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was in command at Fort Schuyler.

The commanding officer at Fort Schuyler was continually involved in Indian affairs. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras had cast their lot with the American cause or at least declared their intended neutrality. The rest of the Iroquois Nation (Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas and Mohawks) had declared for the crown. In two letters to General Clinton several weeks after the Regiment's arrival at Fort Schuyler, Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck summed up a number of aspects of the Indian situation, particularly the threats directed at the Oneidas, and gave some insight as to the problems encountered at the Fort. It is interesting to note that Priest Peter, often called Good Peter, referred to by Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, was an Oneida Chief with whom Van Dyck and other officers of the First New York had many conversations and to whom they looked for assistance on numerous occasions.

> "Fort Schuyler, Decem'r 23rd 1778
>
> D'r General, On Saturday Last I was Informed that Peter Johnson (an Indian belonging to the Six Nations) was at Oneidas, Endeavouring to Perswade that friendly tribe to forsake our Interest & Join the Infernal Enimies of these states. I Immediately Detached an Officer with a Party of Men with orders to Proceed to Oneida & if Possible to make him a Prisoner & Convey him to this place, also to Enquire more Particularly into his Business; the party Returned the Next Evening & Reported that he was gone before they arrived at the Castle, that the Chiefs of the Oneidas would be here the Next Day, Yesterday they Came in and after I had opened the matter they made a speech which I have Inclosed for your Information.
>
> A Party of about seventeen Indians who have fled from Ochquago have made application to me for Provisions; they say Genl. Schuyler has Promised they should Draw Provisions at this place. I have put them off untill I have your Directions in what manner to proceed with them.
>
> The garrison is Reduced to 15 Days allowance of Salt Provisions; the fresh Beef is gone and as the Indians are more or Less Daily at the garrison, they take of considerable Quantities. I, therefore, Request a suply may be forwarded to this place as soon as Possible.[11]

> "Fort Schuyler Decem'r 23d 1778
> Priest Peter Informs that a few Days since, an Indian known by the name of William Johnson, was at Oneida; he Profesed to be sent by the Quiyogas with a message in writing to the Oneidas, which was further Confirmed by Eight strings of black wampum Painted with vermillion.
>
> In the message, the Quiyogas mentioned to the Oneidas the near Connection and Intimate friendship which for a Long time had subsisted between their Tribes, and also the Relation which the Oneida's stood in to the Six Nations as head of the Confederacy. They Expresed their sorrow that the Oneidas had separated themselves from the Confederacy and Joined its Enemies, by which means they had Exposed themselves to the severe Resentment of the other tribes, but that they, (the Quiyogas) had Hitherto Protected them from Insult. That the Conduct of the Oneidas in Carrying Information to the Americans of all the measures of the Six Nations had proved them to be so Notoriously Disaffected to the Confederacy that it was neither their Interest nor Indeed in their Power to protect them any Longer. They Desired the Oneidas to Reflect on the Consequences of their Separation & to Reunite with their antient friends & allies in a vigorous opposition against the Common Enemy of the Confederacy. But, if they would not be Perswaded to take an active part against the Common Enemy, they hope that they would at Least Strictly Observe those Solem promises of Neutrality which they had Repeatedly made to the Six Nations. At the same time they asured them, that if they would not Comply with either of those Requests, that they should not see another spring in peace, but that this winter should Determine their fate.
>
> The Oneidas Replyed, that the affair was of Great Importance and must be Deliberated upon by the whole tribe; that Several of their people were not Returned from Hunting and that an answer must be defered untill their arrival.
>
> Joseph, a French man, Informs that an Onondago Indian told him that the Bateauxs with Provisions Designed for this post had not been able to Reach this in the fall; & Consequently a Large Quantity of Provisions had been stored upon the Mohawk River, which the Six Nations had Determined to Possess themselves of this winter, and also that they had Resolved Intirely to Cut of the Communication between this and the Settlement below, that their people were gone to Niagara but as soon as they Returned they should undertake the Enterprize."[12]

It should be noted that the individual chiefs and warriors within each tribe making up the Six Nations were in no more unanimous agreement as to which side to follow than were the settlers of the Mohawk Valley. The Oneidas returned to their council fires and after two days deliberation resolved that "should any chuse to join the enemy, free liberty was given to withdraw from their tribe."[13] Considering the threats of the Cayugas, the Oneidas "utterly dispaired of being able to effect a reconciliation of the Confederacy and the United States."[14] The Oneidas and Tuscaroras, while proclaiming that they would "never violate their alliance with the American States,"[15] also resolved that "they would not be the agressors or wantonly provoke any tribe to war."[16] Referring to "Seven of the principle Onondaga Chiefs who had hitherto been considered as neutral", Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, in a subsequent communication to General Clinton, explained, "The Onondagas have further engaged upon their return home to effect a final separation in their tribe, and insist that every one shall declare for one side or the other. They now join with the Oneidas in requesting that Troops may be sent for their protection, also that a supply of goods may be furnished at this post for a trade."[17]

In response to the Oneidas' request for troops, General Clinton "ordered a fort to be built at the Oneida Castle, where I expect a considerable body of them will shortly be collected."[18] The fortification was to be known as Fort Van Dyck and Captain Copp's Company, fifty-three men of the First New York, was to provide the garrison.[19] Work progressed rapidly and on February 16th, from Fort Van Dyck, Captain Copp indicated that "last night I had the pleasure of seeing my party in this Fort. The quarters are not very agreable but we are nevertheless contented."[20] Activities in the area of Fort Van Dyck seemed to indicate that the apprehension of the Oneidas had been well founded. "A party of the enemy has been discovered by a scout of ours . . . by their tracts they appear to be a considerable body . . . there are some whites among them as a cartridge box with ammunition compleated was found. . . ."[21] "The approach of two parties of the enemy, one of thirty men the other of an hundred" was typical of the reports coming from Fort Van Dyck. Of the Onondagas who had sought refuge at the Oneida Castle, Captain Copp was specific. "Forty of the Onondagas are here and have given up the commission and medals one of their Chiefs received from the Commandant at Niagara which will be forwarded by the Commissioners. The Oneida Chiefs request you to give them a little rum to celebrate their reunion with these reformers—108 have recounted from Butler, etc."[22] In the frontier areas much of the intelligence and reports of troop and supply movements, etc. was gathered by Indian scouts. In assessing the validity of the reports from the Oneidas, Captain Copp indicated, "As to the truth of any intelligence I receive I cannot vouch. I transmit it to you as I receive it. Probability must be the criterion of our judgement and the confidence we repose in this tribe may add some weight to the information they give us."[23] Twenty-three men of the First New York remained at Fort Van Dyck through April at which time they returned to Fort Schuyler.

Major Benjamin Ledyard was a capable, energetic officer who began his military service in the Continental Army as a Captain in the First New

York when the Regiment was raised in June 1775. Except for some sixteen months, during which he served as Major in the Fourth New York Regiment, all of Major Ledyard's service had been with the First New York. Poor health began to plague the Major after the Battle of Monmouth. From October 1778, illness required his being "on furlough" continually and "it is a little uncertain when he will be back."[24] Much of his "furlough" time was spent in Albany and Schenectady. It soon became apparent to Colonel Van Schaick that a new major had to be appointed. Thus on March 26, 1779, Colonel Van Schaick named Captain John Graham as major of the Regiment. Ledyard remained "on furlough" until May when he resigned from the service. In confirming Captain Graham's appointment, Washington remarked, "It is entirely agreeable to me that Capt Graham should succeed to the vacancy to which he is intitled. You will be pleased to send me a certificate specifying the time and manner of the vacancy and that Capt. Graham is the oldest Captain in the New York Line. This I will transmit to the Board of War, that his commission may be made out accordingly. In the Mean time his appointment may take place by a brigade order."[25]

Another officer who had served the Regiment well was Captain Joseph McCracken. Even though he had been promoted to Major and transferred to the Fourth New York Regiment just prior to the Battle of Monmouth, he was carried on the rolls of the First New York as a captain and recorded as "sick absent." After January and February 1779, during which time he was "sick at White Creek" near his home in Washington County, New York, he was dropped from the rolls of the First New York.

With the appointment of Major John Graham, Colonel Van Schaick drew up a new arrangement for the officers of the Regiment. The new arrangement listed the promotions and included some interesting remarks of Colonel Van Schaick's regarding the rank and seniority of some of the officers:[26]

ARRANGEMENT OF THE 1st NEW YORK REGIMENT—1779 Mar

	RANK	*NAMES*		*DATE OF COMMISSION*
1	Colonel	Goose Van Schaick		June 28th 1775
2	Lt. Colo.	Cornelius Van Dyck		Nov. 21st 1776
5	Major	John Graham		26 March 1779
4	Captains	Andrew Finck		Feby 16th 1776
5		Benjamin Hicks		do do
6		John H. Wendell		March 1st 1776
7		John Copp		April 15th 1776
29		Nicholas Van Rensselaer		Sept. 1st 1778
31		Charles Parsons		26 March 1779
	Capt. Lt.	Guy Young		26 March 1779
	Lieut.	1 Barent T. Salisbury		March 1st 1779
		2 John C. Ten Broeck		do do
		3 Adiel Sherwood		do do
		4 Peter B. Tearse Adjutants Commission dated		do do
		5 Nathaniel Henry		Nov. 21st 1776
		6 William Scudder		do do
		7 Abraham Hardenbergh		do do
		8 Ephraim Snow	March 26 1779	Nov. 21 1776
	Ensigns	1 Barthw VanValkenburgh	do	do do
		2 Christopher Muller	do	do do
		3 Henry Van Woert	do	do do
		4 Abraham Ten Eyck	do	do do
		5 Jacob Hy Wendell	do	do do
		6 Jacobus J. Clock	—	do do
		7 Wilhelmus Ryckman	—	do do
		8 Benjamin Gilbert	—	do do
	PayMaster	Abrm. Ten Eyck		
	Adjutant	Peter B. Tearse		
	QMaster	Henry Van Woert		
	Surgeon	William Mead)		
		)		not transmitted to the Board
	Mate	Caleb Sweet)		

(signed) G V Schaick Colo.

The numbers against the Field Officers & Captains denote their rank in the line of the State—Those against the Subs—their Regimental—

REMARKS

Captain Copp being Ranked in the State arrangement before Captains Hicks & Wendell who held Commissions in the Continental Army of an elder date; is the reason they are now placed before Captain Copp in this arrangement.

Lieutenant Parsons was appointed a first Lieut. in the Campaign of 1775. When Lieut. Young was a Second Lieut. & Lieut. Salisbury Ten Broeck and Sherwood were not in the Service is the reason that he is now placed Captain Lieutenant in this Arrangement.

Adjutant Tearse claims Rank from his first appointment as Adjutant and says that from a Resolve passed in Congress October 1776 they gave Adjutants Rank as first Lieutenants from the time of their first appointment. As I have never seen the Resolve I dont look on myself to be a Competant Judge should the Board of War think it just to place him before Lieuts Salisbury; Ten Broeck & Sherwood I have no objection—if the Resolve above refer'd to entitles him to it.

(signed) G V Schaick Colo.

As the weeks went by and spring approached, fear of imminent and sudden attack spread up and down the entire Mohawk Valley. Memory of the severity of the attacks of last summer and fall was still vivid. Both Major Graham at Fort Schuyler and Captain Copp at Oneida had "received intelligence that a large body of Indians and tories are actually collecting at Niagara and the Seneca Towns, immediately to attack

Oneida and from thence proceed down the Mohawk River."[27] Some settlers had left their farms for safer areas and others were threatening to abandon their settlements if more adequate protection were not forthcoming. Since upper New York state, and particularly Tryon County, was one of the principal granaries of the Continental Army, Governor Clinton was very concerned. Enemy raids and activities in the Lake George—Lake Champlain Area were also increasing in frequency and daring. Pressure was mounting for the offensive action Governor Clinton had recommended last fall. It was not long in coming.

While the Sullivan Expedition was still in the planning stage, Washington sanctioned a strike against the Onondaga Settlements or "Castle." On April seventh, General Clinton appointed Colonel Goose Van Schaick of the First New York Regiment to command the expedition. As soon as he was advised of the assignment, Colonel Van Schaick left Albany to take personal command at Fort Schuyler; the place of rendezvous for the troops to be gathered for the encounter. Secrecy was essential. Instructions were to destroy the Onondaga Castle and to take as many prisoners as possible. Lieutenant Colonel Marinus Willett and Major Cochran, both of the Third New York Regiment were to be Van Schaick's field officers. The troops, 558 in all, were to consist of:[28]

Captain Graham's Company	FIRST NEW YORK REGIMENT
Captain Hick's Company	FIRST NEW YORK REGIMENT
Captain Van Rensselaer's Company	FIRST NEW YORK REGIMENT
One Rifle Company	Commanded by Lieut. Evans
One Company—Fourth Pennsylvania Regt.	" " Capt. Gray
" " —Late Colo. Alden's Regt.	" " Capt. Lane
" " —Third New York Regt.	" " Capt. Bleecker
" " —Fourth New York Regt.	" " Capt. Fowler
" " —Fifth New York Regt.	" " Capt. Johnson

By the sixteenth of April, Colonel Van Schaick had arrived at Fort Schuyler. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was on furlough at Schenectady. The mere presence of Colonel Van Schaick at the Fort seemed to instill a more military air about things and made for a tightening of discipline. For several days the troops had started to arrive. Eight days provisions were being prepared.[29] It became somewhat difficult to conceal from view all of the preparations for the expedition. On the 15th, some "63 Oneida Indians came into the Fort with their baggage and squaws—they all fired coming in & was saluted with 3 pieces of cannon from the fort—after some Ceremony they went out and lay about ¼ of a mile from the fort."[30] The following morning, the "Sachems" requested a meeting with Colonel Van Schaick and asked his permission to go on the expedition. The Colonel insisted that no expedition was in the making and the Indians, apparently pacified, seemed to accept the explanation.

Two days later, however, the Indians applied to the Colonel "to go on an expedition by themselves."[31] To this Van Schaick readily agreed. He was well aware of the kinship between the Oneidas and Onondagas and was loathe to consider the possibility of the Onondagas being warned of the coming assault by their brethren, the Oneidas. Further, he was in firm agreement with General Clinton that "their attachment to one another is too strong to admit of their being of any service when employed against their fellows"[32] and felt much more comfortable in the knowledge that the Oneidas were employed many miles to the north at the time when the expedition against the Onondagas was to take place. Accordingly, he ordered Lieutenant Thomas McClennan of the Third New York Regiment and "Lt. Hardenburgh of the First New York Regiment, one sergeant, one corporal and thirty privates" to accompany the Indians.[33] Twenty days provisions were provided.

About one o'clock in the afternoon of the eighteenth the expedition, consisting of some sixty Indians, together with the Continental officers and soldiers, left Fort Schuyler with instructions to capture the small British Garrison at Oswegatchee (present day Ogdensburgh.) The loss of the element of surprise doomed the attack to failure. Oswegatchee remained in British hands. Some prisoners were taken in the outlying areas and interrogation revealed information of enemy activities in the Region. The expedition, including prisoners, arrived back at Fort Schuyler on April thirtieth.

Skies were bleak and gray over Fort Schuyler on Saturday, the seventeenth of April. Snow fell that night and on into Sunday. During Sunday night, Colonel Van Schaick gave the order to move and through the darkness twenty-nine batteaux with eight days provision were "conveyed over the Carrying place"[34] and into Wood Creek about three quarters of a mile from the fort. "Leaving a sufficient number of soldiers to assist the Batteaumen to get the Boats down Wood Creek, with five officers to hurry them on",[35] at sunrise on Monday the nineteenth through intermittant snow flurries, Colonel Van Schaick led the three companies of the First New York together with the remainder of the expedition twenty-two miles to the "Old Scow Place . . . within about 2 miles of Lake Oneida."[36] The troops arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon. The boats, however, did not arrive until ten o'clock as they had much farther to come and were "much obstructed by trees which had fallen across the creek."[37] As soon as the boats arrived, the entire force embarked upon Oneida Lake. Pitted against a strong and biting wind, progress was difficult, and all of the boats did not keep pace. One more halt during the night provided an opportunity for the "Rearmost boats to come up"[38] and by eight o'clock in the morning of the twentieth the expedition had reached Pisser's Bay, where another halt gave stragglers a chance to catch up and gave the men a chance to draw provisions. By three o'clock in the afternoon the troops had reached the Onondaga Landing "opposite to Old Fort Brewington"[39] at the far end of the lake. Here the men landed quickly and were refreshed with a ration of rum. A proper guard having been provided for the boats, the troops marched "with the greatest silence",[40] "eight or nine miles"[41] through the woods in the direction of the Onondaga settlements. The men marched in two columns about one hundred yards apart. Captain Graham's, Captain Hick's, and Captain Van Rensselaer's companies of the First New York, together with Captain Gray's company of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment formed the right flank with the remaining companies on the left. The rifle company was "divided upon each flank."[42] With the approach of darkness, Colonel Van Schaick called a halt for the night. His orders were emphatic and direct. Every man was to comply to the letter—No fires. Absolute silence. There was snow on the ground and the night was cold. They were well into the Onondaga Country; and as they huddled in the darkness, every man knew what to expect at the hands of the Indians should the troops be discovered.

At daybreak on the twenty-first, the march resumed for an additional six miles with Captain Graham's Light Infantry Company of the First New York as an advanced party. A tributary of the Salt Lake (four feet deep and two hundred yards across) was forded by the men with their "pouches hung to their fixed bayonets."[43] Onondaga Creek, the last obstacle in the path to the Indian Settlements, was soon reached and "crossed upon a log (the creek not being fordable.)"[44] At the creek, an Onondage Warrior "Shooting Pidgeons" was taken prisoner by Captain Graham's Company. Subsequently, word came back to the main body of troops that Captain Graham "had caught one squaw and killed one and had taken two or three children and one white man and one or two made their escape and alarmed the town."[45] Colonel Van Schaick immediately ordered Captain Graham to "surround the first Onondaga Settlements which were about two miles off."[46] Captain Graham quickly moved his Company ahead for the additional two miles, surrounded the settlement and took additional prisoners. At this point, Capt. Gray's Company of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment arrived with Major Cochran and, after leaving a sufficient guard for the prisoners, the two companies proceeded on to the next town; a distance of about a mile.[47] Here again, they "made more prisoners and killed some particularly a Negro who was their Dr they then plundered the houses of the most valuable things and set fire to them."[48]

The main body of troops advanced quickly and soon arrived at the principle castle. Colonel Van Schaick, aware that the advanced party had been discovered, ordered different routes to be taken by "several different detachments in order to surround as many of their settlements as possible at the same time."[49] The Onondaga settlements extended for a distance of eight miles with "some scattered habitations lying back of the Castles and on the other side of the Creek."[50] The first settlement to come under attack had been completely surprised and the Indians fled to the woods unable "to carry off any thing with them."[51] Although the alarm was now out the story was generally the same throughout the Indian settlements, the Indians were taken by surprise and fled to the woods. By four o'clock in the afternoon the job was finished. In Colonel Van Schaick's words:

> "We took thirty three Indians and one white man prisoner, and killed twelve Indians. The whole of their settlements, Consisting of about fifty houses, a large quantity of Corn and Beans were burnt, a number of fine Horses & every other kind of Stock we found were killed. about an hundred Guns, some of which were Rifles, was among the plunder, the whole of which after the men had loaded themselves with as much as they could Carry was distroyed with a Considerable Quantity of ammunition; one swivel taken at the Council house had the Trunions broke off. and was otherways damaged, in fine their destruction of all their settlements was compleat."[52]

The men started to retrace their steps "in the same line of march as we came only the front changed and a Compy. to guard the prisrs. who was to march between they two colums."[53] Having marched "about 2 miles from the town down the Onondaga Creek" the troops were fired upon by "about 20 Indians who lay concealed on the opposite side of the Creek."[54] Lieutenant Evans' Riflemen promptly dispersed the Indians with the loss of one warrior. The march continued and the men recrossed the Onondaga Creek "in two places for fear the enemy should attack us."[55] The firing at Onondaga Creek proved to be the only interruption to the entire return trip. The tributary of Salt Lake was forded again and the troops spent the night of the twenty-first encamped on the shores of the Lake "on very good ground."[56] The weather had taken a turn for the better and continued fair for the next two days. The men were formed early on the morning of the twenty-second and the march continued in the direction of Oneida Lake. The boats, which had been left on the shore of the Lake, were reached about four o'clock. Everything being in good order, Colonel Van Schaick ordered a respite of about an hour during which the men received a ration of rum. Thereupon the troops were ordered into the boats and "rowed to the Seven Mile Island"[57] where they encamped for the night. On the morning of the twenty-third, a stiff wind blew across the lake and "we did not sett of till about 8 o'clock."[58] The wind subsided, however, and the expedition arrived back at Wood Creek in mid afternoon. Leaving "two companies to Guard and assist the batteaumen in geting up the boats"[59] the troops moved on to Fish

Creek where camp was made for the night. A light rain developed during Friday night and continued into Saturday morning, April twenty-fourth, turning the snow on the ground into a sloppy mush. Tired and damp, but otherwise in good spirits, the expedition arrived back at Fort Schuyler on Saturday “about 12 o'clock when we were saluted by 3 pieces of cannon from the fort and each Compy. took their old Quarters.”[60] Colonel Van Schaick's subsequent report indicated that the entire expedition had been “out five days and a half, the whole distance of going & returning being one hundred & Eighty miles, not having lost a single man.”[61]

Sunday, the twenty-fifth, was spent in “collecting the plunder and making an equal Distribution of it to each Compy.”[62] The several units which had been gathered for the expedition returned to their various assignments; leaving the First New York Regiment as the garrison at Fort Schuyler.

On the day they returned to Fort Schuyler, Colonel Van Schaick had prepared a full report of the activities and results of the expedition indicating that the officers and soldiers had “all behaved with a truly determined spirit upon this occasion & went through the severity of a Labourious March with greatest chearfulness paying particular attention to their respective duties.”[63] The report was forwarded immediately to General Schuyler who sent it on with his comments to the Commander-in-Chief. Word of the success of the Expedition spread rapidly. Reaction and comment was uniformly favorable and praise ran high for Colonel Van Schaick and the soldiers. On Friday, May 7th, Washington received General Schuyler's letter containing Colonel Van Schaick's report. The report plus some of Schuyler's remarks were promptly sent to Congress. On Saturday, Washington issued a general order to the Army expressing his pleasure:[64]

> “The good conduct, spirit, secrecy, and dispatch with which the enterprise was executed do the highest honor to Colonel Van Schaick and the officers and men under his command and merit the thanks of the Commander in Chief.”

On the same day, in a letter to General Sullivan, Washington added a note. “I enclose you a Poughkeepsie paper, by which you will observe some of your work has been anticipated by Col. V. Schaick.”[65] On Sunday, Washington wrote to Colonel Van Schaick enclosing a copy of the general orders. On Monday morning, the material sent by General Washington was read at the session of the Continental Congress and, expressing a general consensus of sentiment, it was:

> “Resolved, that the thanks of Congress be presented to Colonel Van Schaick, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their activity and good conduct in the late expedition against the Onondaga.”[66]

Before either Washington or the Congress had received Van Schaick's full report, Governor Clinton had indicated, “. . . I am perswaded great Advantages will result from the late fortunate and very Successful Expedition against Anandaga . . . I have reason to hope it will secure our old Colonel that Promotion to which he is intitelld & which has long been shamefully witheld from him.”[67]

Colonel Van Schaick took some satisfaction from the fact that his success met with such universally favorable reaction. In response to some good wishes from Henry Glen, the Colonel replied, “I am much rejoiced to find my conduct meets so much applause.”[68]

The primary reason the Van Schaick Expedition was considered to be a complete success was that both of its objectives were achieved, the destruction of the Onondaga Settlements and the securing of prisoners. Washington was particularly anxious that prisoners be taken. He indicated his pleasure at Colonel Van Schaick's achievement in this connection and expressed the importance he attached to this aspect. “With respect to the prisoners. . . . Their capture may prove an important event and produce very salutary consequences.”[69] “The prisoners are an acquisition which we should carefully secure to answer either the purposes of exchange, or others as important.”[70] Sometime after the conclusion of the Expedition, the Indians complained bitterly that the soldiers under Colonel Van Schaick's command had abused the Onondaga women and used them for the pleasure of the troops. Both General Clinton and Colonel Van Schaick were aware of this possibility at the outset and the General had pointed out to Colonel Van Schaick, “Bad as the savages are, they never violate the chastity of any women, their prisoners. Although I have very little apprehension that any of the soldiers will so far forget their character as to attempt such a crime on the Indian women who may fall into their hands, yet it will be well to take measures to prevent such a stain upon our army.”[71]

The Sullivan Expedition, which was to follow later in the year, while it employed many more men and was of much larger magnitude than the Van Schaick Expedition, failed in one of its primary stated objectives and in the one area to which Washington attached so much importance. No prisoners were taken. One interesting comparison of the two Expeditions was drawn from a vantage point in time. February 1780. “I can not omit taking notice of Col. Van Schaick's Successfull expedition against the Onondagaes last Spring, which I am informed by one who was in both affairs, was more compleat and effectual than that of Gen. Sullivan. . . .”[72]

The Oneidas were alarmed by the Van Schaick Expedition. For sometime they had intermarried freely with the Onondagas and while they remained friendly to the American cause, they were visibly distressed to see their relations killed or impoverished. So strong was their feeling that they came to Fort Schuyler to "inquire into the matter" and to talk with Colonel Van Schaick.[73] After some lengthy conversations the Indians, apparently not satisfied but at least pacified by the Colonel's words, returned to their people.

The inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley were given some momentary reassurance by the results of the Van Schaick Expedition. Something had to be done and this seemed to provide at least a temporary answer. The prevailing feeling appeared to be summed up by General Washington's remark that, "This tribe has been very hostile and has met with the chastisement they deserved."[74] The ultimate wisdom of a punitive expedition against the Indians is open to discussion from a number of viewpoints. However one of the effects was to create in the Onondaga an unquenchable thirst for revenge which was shortly to be translated into more burning, scalping and killing at Cobleskill, Canajoharie, Stone Arabia, Schoharie, etc.

Governor Clinton's remark to his brother regarding "our old Colonel" and the promotion he felt Colonel Van Schaick was entitled to is worthy of some additional comment at this point. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Goose Van Schaick was commissioned a colonel in the Continental Army. Measured by all criteria, he was the senior colonel in the New York Line and was so recognized. However, for a number of reasons, primarily political, he was unjustly by-passed when promotions to brigadier general were available. Alexander McDougall and James Clinton had both been elevated over Colonel Van Schaick. This unjust situation was to persist even though many respected and influential people were in favor of his advancement. Colonel Van Schaick was to be by-passed on additional occasions. Understandably, the situation was extremely distressing to him and became more so with the passage of time. At one point he submitted his resignation as an officer of the Continental Army. It was not accepted, however, by either General Washington or the Congress who were both reluctant to lose a capable officer. Through all of his subsequent efforts to achieve his just rank, Colonel Van Schaick continued to serve with distinction as commander of the First New York.

The success of the Onondaga Expedition did not change the pattern of life or have any noticeable effect on the duty requirements of the First New York at Fort Schuyler. Reports of enemy gatherings and of threatening attack continued to flourish. Scouts were usually sent out and each report carefully checked. In this connection, a scout, under the command of Lt. Adiel Sherwood, was dispatched from the Fort to Oswego. Heavy rains, however, forced the party to return prematurely on May twenty-first "without making the least discovery of an enemy at or near that place."[75] Five Oneidas and one soldier from the First New York had been sent to Buck Island for similar reasons. This endeavor appeared to be somewhat more meaningful, and "they brought in three Soldiers belonging to Sir John Johnson's Regiment whom they took on the Island." Continuing, Colonel Van Schaick indicated, "By them, I have been informed that no Reinforcement of men had arrived at Buck Island this Spring, but that the remainder of Sir John's Regim't, being seven Companies, was daily expected. When the soldiers were taken, which was the 15th Instant, there was then on the Island about Six hundred men, and about three hundred Indians; that a body of Troops were coming up the River St. Lawrence this Spring; that besides the four Vessels on the Lake Ontario two large Vessels on the Stocks at Buck Island would be launched in a few days."[76] Reports came in to Fort Schuyler from Oneida that "the enemy are collecting in the Seneca's Country. . . ."[77] These reports were confirmed by "some of the Oneida and Tuscarora Chiefs who had come down to the Fort." For some months, the Oneidas had been fearful that because of their attachment to the American cause and particularly in light of the recent Onondaga Expedition, they would be the object of resentment and reprisal from the other tribes of the Six Nations; particularly the Cayugas. As Colonel Van Schaick said, "Enemy scouts are frequently about their Castle" and "without a speedy assistance they expected soon to be burnt out."[78] The Oneidas requested assistance from Colonel Van Schaick and accordingly "an officer and thirty men" of the First New York were sent "to their Fort."[79]

Maintaining the uninterrupted flow of supplies and equipment to Fort Schuyler was an absolute necessity to the survival of the fort. Guards for the boats and wagons had always been an important part of the supply problem. The situation had not changed, and it seemed as though more emphasis was being placed on guards than heretofore. Colonel Van Schaick expressed the seriousness of the problem indicating that, "I have wrote to the Commanding Officer at Fort Herkimer and would by all means advise that the Boats destined for this Garrison be strongly guarded from Fort Herkimer."[80] "Necessary steps to be taken for the Safe Conveyance of boats to Fort Schuyler"[81] was a constant topic of discussion between Colonel Van Schaick and Deputy Quartermaster General Henry Glen. A remark like, "The ammunition is not yet arrived,"[82] gave everyone at Fort Schuyler cause for anxiety.

Prisoners were one of the prime sources of information and intelligence. In many instances the Indians, particularly the Oneidas, were employed for the purpose of obtaining prisoners and, as was the custom, they expected to be rewarded for their efforts. As time went on, Colonel Van Schaick found himself in the position of having to dip into his own personal funds in this connection and expressed his feeling in the matter saying, "I shall be under the necessity for the future to desist from sending any Parties of Indians in order to take prisoners from the enemy, as I have it not in my power to make them any Reward but what comes from my own purse. It seems that my Superiors dont think proper to trust me with the same Powers and Materials with which the former Commanders at this Post were intrusted."[83] The Colonel may have been somewhat over sensitive in his reference to his superiors. There was certainly no lack of trust or confidence in him on the part of any of those in higher command. General Washington reinforced the confidence in which Colonel Van Schaick was held by his remarks to General Clinton. "In respect to what Col. Van Schaik mentions of his being deficient in the means of rewarding the Indians for their services, if he should mean only a want of money, you will give him a warrant on the Pay Master for the necessary sum. If he means articles of Cloathing &c. you will be pleased to make an application to the Commissioners for Indian-affairs who I dare say will do everything in their power to supply him."[84]

Fort Schuyler was constantly being watched by the enemy. Hardly a day went by that hostile Indians did not appear and then disappear in the woods bordering the clearing around the fort. "The enemy's Scouts . . . are constantly about the Garrison."[85] The strength of the enemy was often uncertain and Colonel Van Schaick was similarly reluctant to "venture out my own men."[86]

Friday afternoon, June fourth, saw an all too frequent example of what continued to happen, even within sight of the Fort. About two o'clock, the gates of the fort were opened to permit three wagons to leave. Twenty-five men of the First New York provided the "covering party" and guard for the wagons. The daring and boldness of the Indians was illustrated by the fact that the wagons were "within a quarter of a mile of the Fort" when "they were attacked and partly surrounded."[87] An exchange of musket fire and a "small resistance" from the First New York covering party were "soon overpowered by number . . . The enemys force were supposed to be near one hundred, White men and Indians."[88] Everything happened so quickly. As Colonel Van Schaick said, "A strong party was immediately dispatched after the enemy but to no purpose."[89] For the First New York, providing a guard for the wagons had been a costly assignment. Three dead were carried back to the fort to be buried. Three wounded were brought back to receive the attention of Surgeon William Mead. Nine men did not return at all:[90]

Taken Prisoner

Sergeant Tamson Bacon	Captain Copp's Company
Private Joel Acklay	Captain Copp's Company
Private William Coepland	Captain Copp's Company
Private Peter Winn	Lieutenant Colonel's Company
Private Anthony Crowder	Captain Wendell's Company
Sergeant Gilbert Bogard	Fifth Company
Private Christian House	Sixth Company
Private John Bishop	Captain Finck's Company
Private Christian Tipperwine	Captain Finck's Company

One of the ever present fatigue duties at the fort was the cutting of "sod" or "turf" for the repair of the glacis. This was usually done out at Wood Creek about three quarters of a mile from the fort. Such a fatigue party usually consisted of from ten to forty men under the command of an ensign or lieutenant. These parties seemed to be particularly susceptible to attack and all of the regiments that ever did duty there for any length of time lost men while engaged in this endeavor. Before the First New York was assigned to Fort Schuyler, Colonel Gansevoort had seen men of his regiment brought back from "cutting Turf . . . dead and inhumanly mangled."[91] It did not take the men of the First New York long to become all too familiar with the sod cutting details. On one previous occasion, in the fall of 1777, Ensign Wendell had taken 36 privates of the First New York "out to Wood Creek to cut sod to repair the Fort . . . in the morning before breakfast."[92] All but two of the privates were killed before they could return to the fort.

A few of the routine daily experiences of the men give some insight as to the rigors of frontier duty at Fort Schuyler.

William Henderson, a laborer from Dutchess County, private in the first company (formerly Captain McCracken's Company), had been "disabled by a timber falling on his back" two years earlier. Now, at Fort Schuyler, he was "cut through the right knee." Ultimately, he was discharged from the Corps of Invalids.[93]

Duncan Frazier, a laborer from Duanesburgh, Albany County, a private in Captain Copp's Company, was "ruptured on fatigue duty" and also discharged from the Corps of Invalids.[94]

Jonathan Preston, from Canaan, Columbia County, corporal in Captain Copp's Company, "fractured and lost his leg July 1779."[95]

Nicholas Brown, from the Palatine District, Tryon County, private in Captain Finck's Company, was "wounded in the left side on May 23rd 1779."[96]

John Helmer, corporal in the same company, was "taken prisoner on Octbr 22nd 1779."[97]

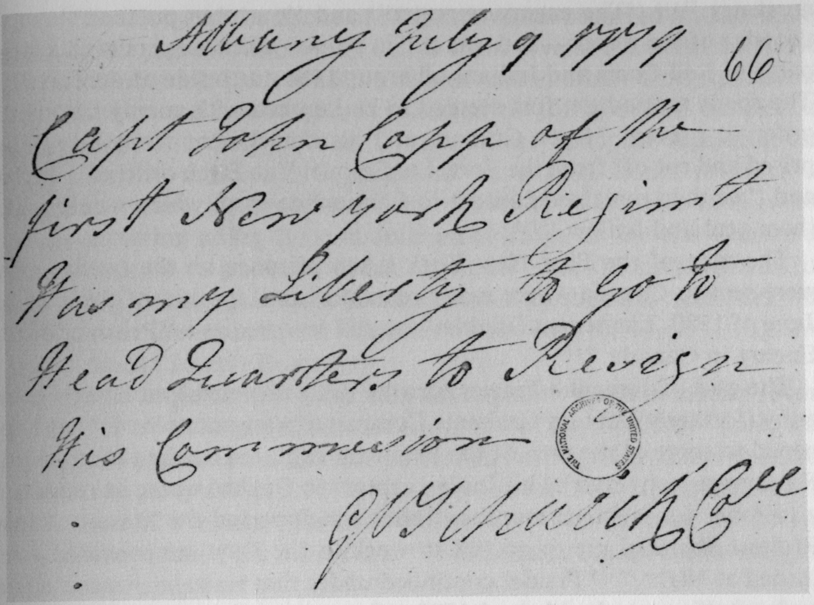
Thomas Ryan, from Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck's Company, was "killed by the Savages 30 May 1779."[98]

Both Brown and Helmer were only too well aware that the Indian threat was unyielding. Ryan was far from either the first or the last man of the Regiment to experience death at the hands of the Indians.

Preparations were underway for the coming Sullivan Expedition and some of the troops were beginning to gather at Canajoharie. General Clinton, who was to be in command of that portion of the Expedition, was anxious to remove to the scene of activity. Early in June, the General instructed Colonel Van Schaick to return from Fort Schuyler to Albany "to take command in my absence."[99] Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, who for a number of weeks had been on furlough and sick at Schenectady, was ordered to repair immediately to Fort Schuyler.

The First New York Regiment had provided the men for General Schuyler's guard since early 1777. A number of the men assigned to this duty had been disabled to some extent such as Corporal John Hanky of the Fifth Company (formerly Captain David Van Ness') who had been "ruptured" and subsequently "discharged from the Corps of Invalids Nov. 3, 1782."[100] There now arose some question as to whether the Regiment would continue to supply men for this purpose. In May, General Washington had indicated to General Schuyler that, "The Continental Guard at Saratoga may remain, till we can relieve them by an equal number of Militia; or in case these cannot be spared for this purpose, till my further orders."[101] The only change to take place in Schuyler's guard as a result of the communication was the reduction in the number of men assigned to the duty: from January to July twenty men; thereafter, eleven men.[102]

The possibility of another thrust to the north against Oswegatchie led Washington to request General Schuyler to have the details of the land between Wood Creek and Oswegatchie mapped in order to "give me some precise and accurate ideas of the general face of the Country and practicability of Marching a body of Troops that way with Artillery, etc. and supporting a Post on the River and the communication with it in case circumstances should hereafter warrant a measure of the kind for the purpose of reducing the enemys force on the Lakes &ca."[103] Washington instructed Schuyler to spare no expense and to proceed with "as much secrecy as possible, that the enemy may not suspect . . . that such an enterprize is thought of by us."[104] The officer chosen to fulfill the assignment was Lieutenant Abraham Hardenbergh of the First New York who had been part of the expedition to Oswegatchie in April. By June ninth, Lt. Hardenbergh had communicated his "plan and observations" to the Commander-in-Chief. Washington commented that, "I have requested him to make a second excursion to explore the country more fully and minutely, and have given him a letter to Col. Van Schaick to furnish him with a party of men and any other assistance he may require."[105] General Washington advised Colonel Van Schaick that Lt. Hardenbergh was to "make his report to you and I beg it may be transmitted without delay and unknown to others."[106] Lt. Hardenbergh covered the ground again.



Albany July 9 1779 66

Capt John Copp of the
first New york Regimt
Has my Liberty to go to
Head Quarters to Resign
His Commission

G V Schaick Col

Colonel Van Schaick's handwritten permission for Captain John Copp to resign his commission.

Courtesy National Archives, Washington, D.C.

On July fifteenth, his report and map were received by Colonel Van Schaick at Albany. Both were immediately forwarded to General Washington together with the Colonel's remarks to the effect that Lieutenant Hardenbergh "assures me that the strictest observations have been made this Time and Work Laid Down in the map between the Fort and the Grand River in the most Accurate manner he was Capable of."[107] Washington was pleased with the results. Referring to Lt. Hardenbergh's map, he remarked to Colonel Van Schaick, "I am exceedingly obliged to him for it and I request that you will return him my thanks."[108]

Friday, July twenty-third, was exactly seven weeks to the day since the three wagons and the First New York covering party were attacked on June fourth. Another fateful and costly occurrence was to befall the Regiment on the twenty-third. Lieutenant William Scudder had gone out with a work party of forty privates. The men were "at work in the Hay" when a "party of Indians and Toreys . . . in number about three hundred" fell upon them.[109] "They surrounded Lt. Scudder and his small party and after a few shott was all except six made prisoners."[110] The cannons from the fort belched defiance. Lt. Colonel Van Dyck dispatched Major Graham with a detachment of men to "attack them with musketry."[111] "The enemy retreated" and "our men pursued them to the edge of the woods—and was still in pursuit when we persieved a large party of Red Coats and Indians all around the north side of the fort."[112] The roads around the fort seemed to be jammed with enemy troops. In order to prevent Major Graham and his detachment from being surprised and cut off from the Fort, Lt. Colonel Van Dyck ordered a retreat and "we then remained content to Cannonade them which would make them yeal and hallow."[113]

The men of the First New York taken prisoner on the twenty-third were sent to Canada where many remained until the end of the war. In June of 1780, Lieutenant Scudder was still reported as a "Prisoner of the Enemy in Canada."[114]

The case of Jeremiah Frazier, private in Lt. Colonel Van Dyck's company (formerly Captain Grahams Company) is an example of what happened to some of the men of the Regiment captured on the twenty-third. Frazier was conveyed by his Indian captors to Quebec where he remained a prisoner for eighteen months, "after which period the Master of said Provost liberated me to go out to work in the Daytime provided I returned at Night."[115] Frazier continued under that restraint for some two and a half years. In May of 1783, "by a press," he was "carried on board the ship Fissbee" where he remained until 1785.[116] Having made his escape "in an Enemies Land," Frazier finally returned to his home in Essex County, New Jersey on the twenty-third of December 1791. Upon his return home, he applied to the Office of the Secretary and that of the Treasurer of the State of New York for pay due him during his period of captivity. He was distressed indeed to find that he was recorded as being dead and that no provision had been made for his compensation during the period of his imprisonment. In March 1792, he petitioned the Legislature of the state of New York for the purpose of awarding him "what compensation they may please." For Jeremiah Frazier it must have been disheartening, to say the least, but perhaps typical of other such instances, to have his claim rejected as "not being just against this State but may if duly authenticated by a just claim against the U. States."[117]

In a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, Colonel Van Schaick detailed the capture of Lieutenant Scudder and the soldiers of the First New York. General Washington's comments on the incident were interesting. "This shews the necessity of redoubled vigilance where we have to do with an enemy so rapid and desultory in their movements."[118] Referring to the action of the enemy, the General expressed the opinion that he was "inclined to think that present appearances are rather calculated to operate as a diversion to General Sullivan."[119]

Some confusion has arisen regarding the enemy attack on Fort Schuyler on July 23rd and the Battle of Minisink which occurred on July 22nd. Reasons for the confusion may derive from several circumstances. The two incidents took place within a day of one another. Correspondence and inquiries were subsequently directed to Colonel Van Schaick at Albany and Lt. Colonel Van Dyck at Fort Schuyler regarding the disposition of militiamen reported to have been taken prisoner at Minisink.[120] Both incidents have been referred to as attempts to draw off troops gathering under General Sullivan at Tioga or General Clinton at Canajoharie or to generally divert attention from the preparations for the coming assault against the Indians. However, the First New York was not a part of the encounter at Minisink which was a militia action against Indians under Joseph Brant.

By the latter part of July, the Sullivan Expedition was in motion. Most of the New York Brigade, with the exception of the First New York, was part of the expedition under the command of Brigadier General James Clinton. As early as April, in discussing plans for the Sullivan Expedition with General Clinton, General Washington was definite as to the assignments of the First New York. "Van Schaick's at all events will garrison Fort Schuyler."[121]

Life went on at Fort Schuyler. In early August, Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck had indicated that "nothing material has happened since Lieut. Scudder was taken."[122] Occasionally, he was forced to report that, "Our Rum is all Expended and I beg you will send up some for the use of the Garrison as soon as possible."[123] To his friend Henry Glen in Schenectady, Lt. Colonel Van Dyck wrote, "I have a fine parcell of Fish procured for you and Colon. Yates . . . I will send them down by the first convenient opportunity."[124]

When Captain John Copp had resigned in July, he and Mrs. Copp left Fort Schuyler bound for Fishkill. Shortly after their arrival at Fishkill, in a letter to Henry Glen, the Captain sought to retrieve a possession left behind at Fort Schuyler. "You cannot conceive how much we are in want of a cow at this place—Mrs. Copp earnestly begs the favor of you to have the cow she left at the Fort sent to the care of Capt. Sickles in Albany who will send her by water to us."[125]

Major Graham sought the assistance of Colonel Van Schaick in a situation which occurred frequently in families who had been divided by the sentiments of the war. The Major, "whose sister's husband is with the Enemy"[126] was "desireous of obtaining a Flag to get his Sister with a large family of small children conveyed to her Husband in Canada, who left her in the month of May last with little to support her and must from her present Inability if not Removed shortly become a Burthen to the Community."[127]

The Colonel interceded with Governor Clinton. The Governor consented and Major Graham's sister, Mrs. Tuttle, and her family were permitted to go to Canada, "Males capable of bear'g arms excepted."[128] Exchanges with the enemy were often arranged in situations of this kind and, while not made a requirement by the Governor, General Schuyler had suggested that the family of Colonel Campbell previously taken prisoner by the enemy at Cherry Valley be exchanged for the Tuttle family.

Reports of enemy gatherings and rumors of pending attack continued to be received by Lt. Colonel Van Dyck at Fort Schuyler. On August third, he indicated that Colonel Morgan Lewis, "is just now been with me and informs me that a body of Indians has been discovered on their way to the Flatts or General Clinton's Camp . . . we daily Receive Reports from the Onida Indians of the Enemy's approach this way but I fear they will fall upon the River instead of the Fort."[129] Reports were often conflicting. General Clinton had been advised by Lt. Colonel Van Dyck and others, "perticularly Indians, that the Enemy are preparing to lay Seige to Fort Schuyler, that large Reinforcements have arrived from Canada, with heavy artillery at Buck Island for that purpose . . . General Schuyler and others have received frequent and undoubted intelligence that no Reinforcements had or were to be sent from Canada except Johnston's Regiment . . ."[130]

Colonel Morgan Lewis, referred to by Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, was an Oneida chieftain who held a Colonel's commission in the Continental Army. Lewis was well known and extremely helpful to both Colonel Van Schaick and Lt. Colonel Van Dyck.

There was no reason to believe that the First New York would find duty at Fort Schuyler any more agreeable than any of the other troops assigned to garrison the fort at different times. A number of circumstances contributed to the fact that the men of the Regiment were becoming more and more restless and dissatisfaction was beginning to show. During September, thirty soldiers of the First New York had plotted "to make instruments for to spike up the Cannon & set fire to the magazine . . ."[131] The plot was discovered by Raymond Hazard, artificer in the Eighth Company of the Regiment (formerly Captain Copp's Company). He reported the plot to Major Graham. The Major moved quickly and the plan was thwarted. The cannons were not spiked and the magazine was not ignited. Hazard later claimed that by his discovery of the plot and his report to the Major, "about seven hundred men women and childred" were saved. From Montgomery County, Hazard was subsequently to petition the State Legislature for pay due him from December 1, 1779 to April 1, 1783 and "to allow and pay him the said sum of one hundred and ten pounds for his services which sum will be the means of supporting and maintaining himself and his wife and family and also the said sum of Eighty Dollars together with such Compensation as the Honorable Legislature shall in their wisdom think fit for the discovery of the aforesaid plot."[132] While claiming pay due him until April 1, 1783, Hazard, a deserter on at least two occasions, is reported to have deserted the Regiment on October 18, 1780.[133]

In spite of the "disagreeable" duty, on October first a Return of the comparative strength of the Five New York Regiments showed the First New York to be mustered to a strength of four hundred fifty nine officers and men.[134] None of the other New York regiments had reached this figure and some were only slightly better than half that number. October was to see the resignation of Surgeon William Mead and the appointment, on October eighteenth, of Caleb Sweet, formerly Surgeon's Mate, as Surgeon of the Regiment.[135] On the same day Christopher Muller, Ensign in Captain Wendell's Company, requested permission to resign stating, "For the space of four years, separated from his family, his concerns are now in so confused a state as to require his presence . . ."[136] Having been sent to Albany "In Arrest" by Lt. Colonel Van Dyck, permission was granted and Ensign Muller resigned from the Regiment in December.

The soldier's pay was in arrears, and this was a major factor in the discontent of many of the men. It was common practice for the confiscated property and possessions of Tories and British sympathizers to be sold and proceeds paid to the Continental troops. At this time, from such an occurence, Paymaster Abraham Ten Eyck received a total of "2531 pounds, 8 shillings & six pence" which meant that each private and non-commissioned officer in the First New York was to receive five pounds, seventeen shillings and nine pence.[137] While no substitute for regular pay, it provided some boost for the general morale of the men.

As the weeks went by, it became more and more apparent that the Indians were intent upon revenge for the punitive expeditions directed against them. Lt. Colonel Van Dyck's warning that, "Colonel Johnson with a thousand Indians is on his way to this place; besides a large body of Regular Troops . . . a number of Heavy Cannon & Morters with them, that the Regulars were to Beseige this Fort and in the meanwhile the Indians would destroy the Country down as far as Schonectady"[138] did not go unheeded. On October twenty-sixth, Colonel Van Schaick advised Governor Clinton that he would proceed to Tryon County "with the utmost dispatch."[139] The Governor, however, saw "no immediate necessity to put Public Arms into the hands of the Militia" and felt that "the emergency will not be so sudden but we can have an Opportunity of equipping them in time for Service and, in the meantime, I shall give orders that they be employed . . . without disgusting them with the Service."[140] Upon his return from Tryon County, Colonel Van Schaick summarized the situation, particularly regarding the Indians and the Militia:

> ". . . The Commanding Officer at Fort Schuyler informed me that by Indian accounts which he received the Enemy were in force at Oswego with Artillery a small Scout was sent to make Discoveries but were soon after leaving the Fort Captured. General Ten Broeck who Commands the Militia of this County thought proper to order part of five Regiments of Militia to March into Tryon County where the General remained for some time & after Reinforcing some of the Frontier Posts in that quarter the General thought proper to Dismiss the Militia—It appears from the Indian Accounts that the Enemy who are said to have been at Oswego came there for the purpose of Distributing presents of Cloathing etc. to the Onondago & other Indian Nations who have suffered by our Arms during the Course of the present Campaign."[141]

All through the slightly better than four years of war, the uniforms of the Continental Army had varied widely in appearance and color. With minor exceptions, no standard had been established for the army as to color of uniforms. Supply and availability made this understandably difficult. Now in the latter part of 1779, a pattern of color for the various states was set forth. For the New York Regiments, in August the Clothier General had indicated regimental coats of blue-faced buff, with vests and small clothes to be white, "as nearly as possible."[142] General Washington's orders of October second also prescribed regimental coats of "Blue faced Buff—White Linings and buttons"[143] for the New York troops. The designation of uniform colors provided a standard to work toward and a goal to be achieved. In many instances, as a practical matter at the moment, achievement of the new regulations was academic. General Washington commented that the new regulations were to be implemented "as soon as the state of the public supplies will permit . . . and in the meantime it is recommended to the officers to endeavor to accomodate their uniforms to this standard, that when the men come to be supplied there may be a proper uniformity."[144] There exists little or no evidence to indicate whether, in fact, the Regiment ever did receive any blue coats faced with buff. As in the past, nothing was to be discarded. With the supply of all clothing as short as it was, the wearing of a particular regimental coat was certainly not discontinued because the designated color for the unit had been changed. More continuity in the color of uniforms existed in the First New York than in many other regiments. The First New York's early use of blue coats faced with red was continued by the blue and red coats from France awarded to the Regiment in October of 1778. The uniform situation of the First New York was clear. It was obvious that the blue and red regimental coats still in service in the Regiment would be worn by the men until they literally disintegrated.

The supply of all items of clothing, regardless of color, was becoming

a major problem. Shoes were almost irreplaceable. With increasing regularity, Colonel Van Schaick's ingenuity was taxed to the utmost in order to keep the Regiment supplied with the bare essentials. As an example, the Colonel had requested that raw hides be made available from the public stores from which some shoes for the Regiment could be fashioned. General Washington's reply was a disappointment. "I cannot direct the Commissary of Hides to deliver raw Hides to you without infringing the regulations of that department . . ."[145]

New York was having extreme difficulty in supplying its troops. Not only the First New York but the entire New York Brigade was in need of uniforms and clothes. Lt. Colonel Marinus Willett, of the Third New York, on behalf of "the officers of our Brigade", beseeched the Governor that they might be "put in equivalent circumstances with the troops of other States with whom we serve . . .We have officers now with our Regiment who cant do duty meerly for the want of clothes fit to appear on the parade."[146] Baron von Steuben, well accustomed to the privations of soldiers, said that in the winter of 1779, the New York Brigade at Morristown "exhibited the most shocking picture of misery I have ever seen, scarce a man having wherewithal to cover his nakedness, and a great number very bad with the itch."[147]

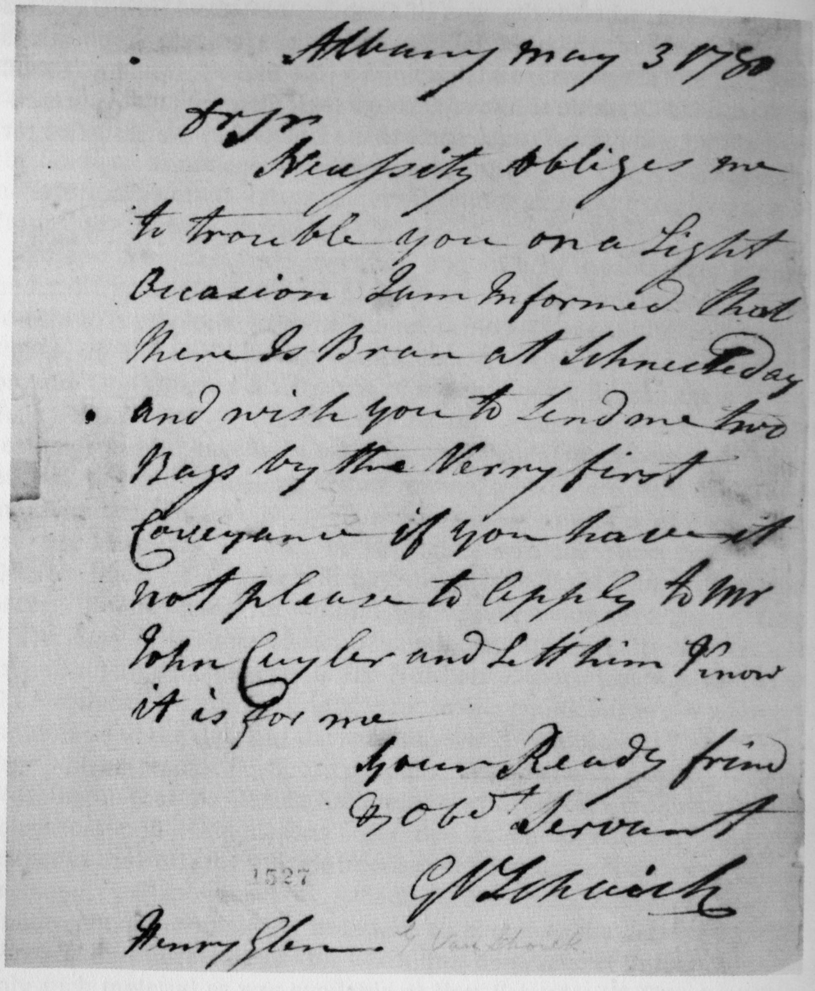
Feeding the army was never easy. In the Northern Department, the outlook for the supply and availability of many items of food presented a bleak picture. Governor Clinton expressed some of the difficulties indicating that, "The present State of our Currency and the want of Cash in the hands of the Persons employ'd to purchase, will absolutely prevent them from doing any Thing effectual as the Farmer considers the difference of the Value of the Money between the Time of Sale & Payment, a diminution of the Price. . . . Besides the exorbitant Prices which our Farmers here are given in some of the Southern States, occasions so great an unwilliness in them to dispose of their Produce at any Rate, that I apprehend very little (other than what is forced from them by the authority of law) will be procured."[148]

Colonel Van Schaick was only too familiar with all of the supply problems in New York state. From time to time, many people expected to draw rations from the usually meager supplies available in the Continental storehouses. Requests for rations and provisions often came from Indians, the levies, the militia and sometimes the inhabitants and farmers themselves. A little out of the ordinary was the application for rations Colonel Van Schaick had received in October from a number of the "wives of the officers and Soldiers, whose Husbands were upon the Western expedition."[149] While subsistence for wives and women of the army was not unusual, so long as they accompanied the troops, even this had limitations. The women's request was denied and Colonel Van

Schaick called the matter to General Washington's attention. From West Point, the Commander-in-Chief replied, "This is a thing which I have never known to be allowed, and which, if admitted in one instance, might be claimed by the families of the whole Army. The New York troops will be at this post in a few days, when the Wives of as many of the Soldiers, as are generally allowed to follow the Army, may join and be subsisted as usual. If any remain, I cannot undertake to give an order from them to draw provisions."[150]

Colonel Van Schaick's ingenuity and success in obtaining supplies under difficult circumstances often prompted the Commander in Chief to turn to the Colonel when he wanted something special. In one such instance, on November twenty-eighth, he asked Colonel Van Schaick "to procure One hundred & fifty pair of Snow Shoes & deposit them at Fort Schuyler—subject to the delivery of my order *only*—For particular reasons I wish to have them made in the Indian County—by the Oneidas or some of their tribes—but if they cannot be had there, then to get them made up the Mohawk river—A proportionable number of Mockasons are also necessary & must be deposited with the Snow Shoes—The Quarter Mast^{r} at Albany will pay the cost of these things upon your order."[151] The reason for Washington's request was never made clear.

The story of the showshoes, of minor importance in itself, illustrates the pitfalls to which supply in the Northern Department was subjected. On December twenty-fifth, in a letter to General Schuyler, Washington inquired as to the status of the snowshoes and "Mockasons" and "when they will be ready."[152] Shortly Colonel Van Schaick advised General Washington that the Oneida Indians at Fort Schuyler were preparing the snowshoes and "Maquasons" but due to an insufficient supply of leather at the Fort, the full one hundred-fifty could not be made.[153] From the supply of snowshoes at Albany, the Colonel agreed to send up whatever number might be necessary to complete the desired number. Washington indicated that this would not be necessary and to fabricate only such material as was available at Fort Schuyler.[154] The snowshoes and "Maquasons" were completed but no order for their use was forthcoming from the Commander-in-Chief. They were held at the Fort. In the early hours of the morning of April 14, 1780 a fire broke out in the Guard House at the Fort and the snowshoes were destroyed. Reporting the event to General Washington, Colonel Van Schaick said, "I believe that the Snowshoes mentioned to be Burnt, were those I ordered to be made in consequence of your Excellencies direction of the 28th of November last."[155] Interestingly enough, three years later the same snow shoes again became the subject of a communication from Colonel Van Schaick to General Washington. The Indians had never been paid for their services. The Colonel had "Referred them with my order to the Quarter Master, who for the want of Cash has Left the Affair Unsettled in Consequence of which the Indians have Made frequent Applications to me and still do presist in My paying for the Same . . . and as I shall hereafter have Occasion to Travel through their Contery I am Apprehensive that they will prove Troublesome to me Unless they are Sattisfied for their work."[156]



Albany May 3 1780

Dr Sir

Neceſsity Obliges me
to trouble you on a Light
Occasion I am Informed that
there Is Bran at Schnecteday
and wish you to Send me two
Bags by the Verry first
Conveyance if You have it
not please to apply to Mr
John Cuyler and Let him know
it is for me

Your Ready frind
& Obdt Servant
G V Schaick

1527

Henry Glen — G. Van Schaick

Letter from Colonel Goose Van Schaick (his handwriting and signature) to Henry Glen, May 3, 1780.

Courtesy New York State Library, Albany

SIX

1780

A deep snow lay heavy on the road between Albany and Fort Schuyler. Communication was difficult.[1] Supply problems were compounded. The Indians had been beaten back and, to some extent, their ability to make war momentarily reduced. However, they were neither conquered nor helpless. Any respite from attack enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley was soon gone. A feeling of insecurity and fear of attack had returned. Governor Clinton expressed his disappointment. "I was led to hope that the Distresses the Savages were reduced to last year by our Successfull Campaign against them, might have induced them to sue for Peace & our Frontier Settlements thereby remain in a State of tranquillity. Their present early Incursions warrant a different Sentiment & leaves us to apprehend every Misschief they are capable of committing."[2] With the advent of spring only a few weeks away, Colonel Van Schaick explained the situation in the Northern Department in a letter to General Washington.[3]

> "In my last I informed your Excellency of the Depredations committed by the Enemy at Skeensborough, & on the Frontiers of Tryon County on the Mohawk River. Since which time I have received accounts that on the 3rd Instant Nineteen of the Inhabitants in the upper parts of Tryon have been made prisoners by the Savages. A Grist Mill & three dwelling Houses burnt, & on the seventh, Eleven were taken & three killed at a small settlement called Harpers-field between Schoharry and the Susquahanna.
>
> I was led to hope that the season would have been a protection to the Frontier settlements in this quarter until we were better able to repel their incursions, but from what has already happened, it appears necessary that some parts of the Northern & Western Frontiers in this Department be immediately Guarded, & as their safety at present depends on the exertions of the Militia Detachments have been ordered out but their March is delayed for the want of provisions. The purchasing Commissaries inform me that they have not been enable to purchase provision during the course of last Winter, for the want of money, & that are still without, from which cause our Magazines in this quarter are at present reduced to so low a State, that but very small supplies can be drawn from them.
>
> I also beg leave to inform your Excellency that the ammunition at this place consists at present of half a Ton of powder & Ball in proportion, a Quantity, which in all probability will be judged insufficient should we have frequent occasion to call out the Militia."

The deficiencies in supply referred to by Colonel Van Schaick were becoming more severe as each week passed. All during the winter, as supplies dwindled, all sorts of requests were made to the Colonel for drafts on the Continental Stores and Magazines in the Northern Department. One such request for "provisions, snow shoes and Camp Kittels" from the "Continental Stores at Albany" was received from Thomas Chittenden,[4] "who calls himself the Governor of the State of Vermont."[5] The request was made in order to supply militia raised in Vermont. Colonel Van Schaick declined to comply indicating that, "your request of Provisions &c for Men Called Into Service By an Authority which I as an Officer in the Army of the Thirteen United States am not at Liberty to be Acknowledge. . . ."[6] The Commander-in-Chief concurred that the Colonel's determination had been proper.

By far, the most important and difficult matter of supply was how to procure and keep provisions flowing into Fort Schuyler. Colonel Van Schaick, who remained at Albany, left no avenue untried in order to supply that garrison. The Colonel's orders regarding flour, a particularly scarce item, were expressed by James Gray, Deputy Commissary General of Issues at Albany and served to illustrate efforts being made to conserve the existing supply. "I am directed to inform you that the present scarsity of Flour renders it necessary that the Certificates you may have given to persons due them as rations should not be discharged at present out of any flour you may have or may hereafter receive at your post, as such Certificates will be discharged as soon as the present scarcity ceases. . . . Fail not in paying a strict regard to the above—It is Colo Van Schaicks order that no provisions be issued—to any refugees or others (Soldiers excepted) who have heretofore drawn by his order. . . . The French Refugees who are to continue to draw provisions a usual are excepted in the above order."[7] Regardless of the scarcity of flour, Colonel Van Schaick was sensitive to the needs and desires of some of the officers' families and accordingly requested Henry Glen to ". . . present my Complts. to Mrs. Van Dyck, & tell her she shall not be deprived of the Flour the Colo. has due if it is in my power to order it here."[8]

No-one knew better than Colonel Van Schaick what to expect from the Indians after the events of 1779. His concern for the attacks that had already been resumed characterized a great many of his orders and much of his correspondence. He was convinced that the depradations of the enemy would increase in both frequency and severity. The Colonel's brief letter of February seventeenth to Henry Glen, Quartermaster General at Schenectady, illustrates the sense of urgency he felt for the situation.[9]

> "Let me intreat you to keep your Eyes well fixed towards Fort Schuyler.

> Make frequent inquiries whether the Mills at Schenectady & the River are Grinding Wheat for the use of that Garrison. Stimulate with your advise the Commissaries, & others concerned to forward the Flour to Fort Schuyler while it is yet time."

Only a few weeks later, in an effort to see that proper transport was available, the Colonel again addressed himself to Henry Glen. ". . .You will please to order the Boats you have at Schenectady to be put in the best repair—I have ordered the Quarter Master to send to Fishkills for ten three-handed Boats for the Mohawk River."[10]

On March twenty-sixth, Washington designated the places in New York state which were to be the official depositories of the Continental supplies. Both Fort Schuyler and Albany were on the list, as well as Claverack, West Point, Fish Kill and Fish Kill Landing. Security and a location which would be "most likely to facilitate the purpose intended"[11] were the general criteria for the selections. Early in March, the Board of War had ordered that issuing commissaries be discontinued at "Schenectady, Schoharra, Johnstown, Fort Plank, Oneida Castle, Halfmoon Point, New City, Saratoga, Fort Edward, Skeensborough, Bennington, Rutland, Keen & Peterborough, Charlestown & Haverhill."[12] Detachments stationed at those posts where issuing commissaries were to be discontinued were to be "furnish'd with Provisions monthly from the Posts that Remain."[13] General Schuyler concurred with the Board of War. Governor Clinton and Colonel Van Schaick did not. Colonel Van Schaick was particularly disturbed. Several of the Posts ordered to be "broke up" were to be rendezvous points for the militia gathering for the defence of the frontier. From a practical standpoint, it was hard enough to keep the militia in being without doing away with some of the critical gathering points. So deep were his convictions for the maintenance and defence of the Mohawk Valley that Colonel Van Schaick advised the Governor, "I have also thought proper to supersede the orders of the Board of War, by directing the Deputy Commissary General of Issues in this Department, to continue an issuing commissary at each of the following Posts: Schoharry, Fort Plank & Sacondago. . . a line from Your Excellency to the Commander in Chief I trust will obtain a Justification of my conduct & an order for continuing Issuing Commissaries at the Places the Troops may be stationed for the defence of the Northern & Western Frontiers in these parts."[14] In his reply, Governor Clinton agreed that he thought it "highly improper to break up the Posts of Skeensborough, Fort Plank & Herkimer & Fort Edward . . . ," conceding, however, that a smaller number than those now employed would be sufficent.[15]

Colonel Van Schaick's presence in Albany, administering the affairs of the army, increasingly emphasized that in fact he was the commanding officer in the Northern Department, even when higher ranking militia officers were present. Continental officers of similar rank reported to him. Anything of importance in the Northern Department was directed to Colonel Van Schaick and it was usually his advice and decision that motivated the situation. When called out of the area for any length of time, the Colonel was usually replaced by an officer of superior rank: several times by Brigadier General James Clinton. Communications and correspondence were invariably addressed to him as "Commander of the Northern Department",[16] and Governor Clinton was among those who looked to Colonel Van Schaick as "the Commanding Officer in the Northern Department."[17] Much of the business at Albany effected the entire army in the Northern Area including the First New York Regiment—matters of supply, provisions, clothing, transportation, communication, Indian affairs, prisoners and the administration of the main "gaol", hospitals and the wounded, etc.

Some of the Colonel's efforts represented the day-to-day business of the army in Albany or elsewhere in the Northern Department, but had little direct bearing on the First New York.

Washington, disturbed at what seemed to be a general occurrence in other quarters as well, remarked to General Schuyler, "I hope your advice to Colo. Van Schaick respecting the diminution of Horses has had the desired effect, otherwise I shall follow it by an order."[18]

William Adams, an "Issuing Commissary in the General Hospital" at Albany was accused of having "Embezled a large quantity of public stores."[19] Not having the necessary means immediately at his disposal, Col. Van Schaick directed a court of inquiry to be convened, had Adams held in custody and ultimately sent him "with the necessary witnesses down to the Highlands"[20] to be tried by a court martial under the direction of General Heath.

As early as May 1775, Goose Van Schaick had been named as a representative "For the first Ward" of the city on the Albany Committee of Correspondence.[21] At the center of military affairs, he was an important member of the committee.

The Commissioners for Conspiracies sat regularly in Albany and they frequently called upon the Colonel "to furnish a guard" for various purposes.[22] On occasion, Colonel Van Schaick made the Commissioners aware of happenings in the city, and in one instance, he "informed the Board that Samuel Williamson of this City made use of Several Expressions tending to injure the American Cause."[23] "In Consequence of Said Information", the Board ordered, "that a Warrant be made out for the immediate Apprehension & Confinement of the Said Samuel Williamson."

Typical was Governor Clinton's request to Colonel Van Schaick for

assistance to recruiting officers of other regiments. "They may have occasion each of them for a public Horse & make Drafts for small Quantities of Liquor which I beg may not (be) refused them."[24]

Colonel Van Schaick's help and attention in a particular situation often made the difference between success or failure. "Let me intreat you to use your influence with the Militia Officers of Genl. Ten Broeck's Brigade . . ."[25] was the kind of thing so often sought from the Colonel by Governor Clinton.

One matter pertaining directly to the First New York was a request made to General Washington by Major Joseph McCracken; formerly a captain in the Regiment. Due to ill health and the loss of his arm at the Battle of Monmouth, McCracken had been obliged to leave the army. In January 1777, he had enlisted into the First New York Regiment "a Mulatto Man named William Condo, who belonged to him and who had then upwards of seven years to serve, and prayed that he might be permitted to have him again. . . ."[26] McCracken also indicated that he had "suffered considerably from the incursions of the enemy."[27] Washington advised Colonel Van Schaick that ". . . if the Facts with respect to the Man and the Major's sufferings by the incursions of the enemy, are as he has represented them", he consented, "to his having him again."[28]

Before the end of January, Washington's attention was focused again on Fort Schuyler and the First New York. He was in agreement with General Schuyler that the time was right for "making friends of those Indians we have lately Chastized and all others. . . ."[29] To Schuyler, Washington posed several questions,[30] all centered about the possibility of a thrust to the Northward. ". . .Would it be practicable if the Indians should be disposed to more than a neutrality, either by themselves or with the aid of a few Men in disguise, to seize the Fortress of Niagara . . . Would it be possible to surprise it ourselves, without their aid (or with the assistance of a few trusty guides only before the frost breaks up) by a rapid movement of an adequate number of Men in sleds from Fort Schuyler? ". . . cannot some successful attempt be made by a detachment from the garrison at Fort Schuyler? . . . What may be the difficulties of getting from Fort Schuyler to Oswego?" While no thrusts against either Niagara or Oswego were to be forthcoming, Washington's questions seemed to be a logical extension of his previous orders to Colonel Van Schaick regarding "Mockassons" and show shoes and Lt. Hardenbergh's mapping of the area to the north of Fort Schuyler.

Maintaining the strength of the Regiment was becoming more difficult every day. Recruiting results were disappointing. There was little to encourage enlistment at Fort Schuyler. From a total of three hundred eighty-three officers and men in January 1779 now, one year later, the Regiment was reduced to a total of three hundred twenty-eight officers and men.[31] Desertion was not the greatest cause for the reduction of numbers in the ranks. Despite the rigors of the duty and the discipline, only nine men deserted during 1779, for the first four months of 1780 only one man.[32] There was nowhere to go. Outside the fort the country was hostile and fraught with death or captivity. The ranks of the Regiment were reduced to a much greater extent by the separation of men whose times had expired. During the first four months of the year, over thirty men left the ranks of the Regiment because their "times expired." These men would have fared no better than deserters as individuals in a hostile countryside. However they sometimes left with or were part of a supply guard or convoy and returned to Schenectady or Albany or home. Some remained at the fort outside the immediate jurisdiction of the military but still subject to all of the rules and regulations in force at the Fort. Some were ultimately persuaded to re-enlist. The numbers were to continue to diminish during the year and to be a matter of much concern to both Colonel Van Schaick in Albany and Lt. Colonel Van Dyck at Fort Schuyler.

A muster roll of the officers of the First New York, for January and February 1780, indicated a slightly altered arrangement and a reduced number of officers:[33]

"LIGHT INFANTRY

Andrew Finck	Captain
John C. Ten Broeck	Lieutenant
Jacob H. Wendell	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

1st COMPANY

Benjamin Hicks	Captain
Ephram Snow	Lieutenant
Abraham Ten Eyck	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

2nd COMPANY

John H. Wendell	Captain
Nathaniel Henry	Lieutenant
Henry Van Woert	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

3rd COMPANY

Nicholas Van Rensselaer	Captain
Abraham Hardenburgh	Lieutenant
Wilhelmus Ryckman	Ensign

4th COMPANY

Charles Parsons	Captain
Adiel Sherwood	Lieutenant
Jacob J. Klock	Ensign

5th COMPANY

William Scudder	Lieutenant
Benjamin Gilbert	Ensign

6th COMPANY

Goose Van Schaick	Colonel
Guy Young	Captain Lieutenant

7th COMPANY

Cornelius Van Dyck	Lt. Colonel
Peter B. Tearse	1st Lieutenant
Bartholomew Van Valkenburgh	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

8th COMPANY

John Graham	Major
Barent Staats Salisbury	Lieutenant
Christopher Muller	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

Fort Schuyler, March 2, 1780

(signed) Corn. V. Dyck, Lt. Colº."

A Return of the "Field Officers of the New York Line" showed Colonel Van Schaick to be the Senior Colonel in the Line.[34] Of the five lieutenant colonels, Marinus Willett and Cornelius Van Dyck, both of whose commissions were dated the same, were shown second and third respectively. Major John Graham appeared as the newest of the five majors in the Line.

For the "Campaign" of 1780, the First New York Regiment remained part of Brigadier General James Clinton's New York Brigade under the command of Major General Lord Stirling.[35]

During the tour of duty at Fort Schuyler, a furlough became one of the few things the men of the Regiment had to anticipate with some degree of pleasure. In the early months at Fort Schuyler, it was not unusual to have ten or fifteen enlisted men on furlough from the Regiment at any one time. This leveled off during the year. The last several months of 1779 and the early months of 1780 saw as many as thirty-five enlisted men on furlough at a particular time.[36] The increase in the number of men on furlough was a response by Colonel Van Schaick, Lt. Colº. Van Dyck and Major Graham to the "disagreeable" duty, in all of its ramifications, and an effort to bolster, in some way, the sagging morale of some of the men.

Officers' furloughs usually occurred with some regularity and often extended over several months. The weather and sickness frequently dictated the length of a furlough. In January 1779, shortly after the First New York arrived at Fort Schuyler, Henry Glen had remarked to Lt. Colº. Van Dyck that ". . . when you do come you will stay with us till Spring. . . ."[37] This was the sentiment often expressed to officers serving on the frontier.

Captain Lieutenant Guy Young had been placed "under arrest" in early 1779 and remained in that status for over a year. While the details of his arrest are not entirely clear, the difficulty stemmed from abuses involving liquor and from his being accused of “neglect of duty.” Other officers of the First New York had faced court-martials and courts-of-inquiry in the past and were no different in this respect than officers of other regiments in the army. The articles of war were specific as to how a court was to be constituted, what officers were empowered to convene a court-martial, what officers might or might not preside or sit on the court, etc. Many court-martials and sentences deriving therefrom were reviewed by General Washington. Colonel Van Schaick advised Washington that “Capt. Lieut Young of my Regiment having for some time past been placed in arrest—I ordered a General Court Martial for his Trial & now inclose the proceeding for your Excellencies Approbation.”[38] The nature of the sentence remains unknown. Washington's reply to Colonel Van Schaick, however, indicates the lack of attention to details exhibited in the constitution of the court and his displeasure at the direction of the entire matter:

> “. . . I find myself under the necessity of disapproving the Sentence against Captain Lieutenant Young, on account of the irregular constitution of the Court. The power of ordering General Courts Martial is only vested in the Commander in Chief, or a General Officer commanding in any State; and if I am not mistaken, Major Graham the president of the Court, was at the same time commanding Officer of the Garrison which is contrary to one of the Articles of War. Indeed, from the whole face of the proceedings, I am of opinion that this matter had better be accomodated than brought before another Court, as the arrest was principally founded on transations which happened in Liquor and which ought never to have been brought before the public. The charge of neglect of duty does not seem to be at all supported: But as you must, from your situation, be more fully acquainted with circumstances than I am, I will grant an order for holding a General Court Martial if you think the service requires it. . . .”[39]

No further trials were held and Captain Lieutenant Young was released from arrest. He was soon to be promoted to captain and given command of Colonel Van Schaick's company of the Regiment.

The situation at Fort Schuyler remained tense. The threat of attack never ceased. Enemy depredations were increasing. All supplies and provisions were low, some almost out. Clothing, shoes, blankets, etc.—threadbare, worn out—replacements almost always nonexistant. General Washington had indicated that similar conditions existed elsewhere and that the army had been put “to the severest trial.” Continuing, the Commander-in-Chief pointed out that at times the army “has been 5 or Six days together without bread. at other times as many days without meat and once or twice two or three days without either . . . at one time the Soldiers eat every kind of horse food but Hay. . . . Sufferings like these accompanied by the want of cloathes, Blankets, etc. will produce frequent desertions in all Armies. . . .”[40]

On February fifteenth, Colonel Van Schaick again requested that the First New York Regiment be relieved at Fort Schuyler:

> “. . . Altho I am sensible that it is the Duty of a Soldier to wait for Orders, & when given to obey them with Alacrity, I should not do Justice to the Regiment I have the Honour to Command was I not aggreeable to a Requisition made by the Officers in general Represent to your Excellency. That from the length of Time the Regiment has been Stationed at Fort Schuyler & the Remoteness of the Country, many disadvantages have arisen to the Officers & Soldiers with respect to Cloathing, & other necessaries. I shall therefore with the Officers be happy that the Regiment may be Relieved the Ensuing Spring, if that can be done consistent with the good of the service. . . .”[41]

General Washington's reply came on March 8th. “I shall as soon as the Season and circumstances will admit, relieve your Regiment from their present duty.”[42]

Between the hours of midnight and one A.M. on Friday, April fourteenth, a fire broke out in the guardhouse at Fort Schuyler. “Some Fire had unhappily lodged itself between the Chimney and the Chamber floor . . . and . . . caught so violently that “the Snowshoes and all the Arms unfit for use belonging to the Garrison” were destroyed.[43] The fire having been “. . . on the Chamber so that the Guard did not perceive it until it had gotten so far that it was impossible to extinguish it”, made some damage unavoidable. In order to prevent the spread of the fire and “save the rest of the Garrison from being consumed”, Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck ordered the adjoining barracks “knocked down.” By morning the fire had been extinguished and the carpenters had already begun the task of rebuilding the barracks. It was anticipated that the guardhouse would be completely rebuilt by the following Saturday, April twenty-second. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck praised the action of the men in preventing what could have developed into a major disaster saying, “This accident might have destroyed the whole Garrison had it not been for the Dexterity of the Officers & Soldiers who by taking down part of the Barracks, & the constant applying of Water (to that part which was on fire) which was conveyed thro the Sally Port prevented the fire from catching in any of the other Buildings, not a man was hurt saving a few who lamed themselves by treading nails in their feet.”[44] General Washington expressed the feeling of everyone concerned in his remark that “the Fire at Fort Schuyler . . . I am glad to find was extinguished without doing any very material damage.”[45]

The month of May was to prove trying indeed for the Regiment. On the sixteenth, two officers resigned; Ensign Jacob Ja. Klock and Lieutenant Adiel Sherwood. Resignations of Continental Army officers were not accepted without the consent of the Commander-in-Chief. In addition, the permission of the regimental commander was required together with his certification that the individual officer was not indebted to the United States and that his resignation would not be injurious to the service. General Washington's consent was obtained for both Klock and Sherwood.[46] Colonel Van Schaick's written certification followed within a few days. In both cases the date and text of the Colonel's certificate was the same:[47]

> "Albany April 24, 1780
> I do hereby Certify that Ensign Jacob Klock in the 1st New York Regiment, is from peculiar circumstances with respect to his Family, under the necessity to retire from the Service, He has my permission to give in his Resignation.
> (signed) G. V. Schaick
> 1 n. York Regm^t."

The resignations of Lieutenant Adiel Sherwood and Ensign Jacob J. Klock are both deserving of some additional notice.

Lieutenant Sherwood was a capable officer and his resignation serves as an example of some of the reasons why an officer left the service and what sometimes became the ultimate outcome. He enjoyed the confidence of the Colonel and other field officers of the Regiment. He had served under Colonel Van Schaick since 1776 and had been assigned positions of command. In the latter part of 1779, he had been "ordered by Major Graham to take charge of Col^o. Van Schaick's Company."[48] In his petition to resign, addressed to Governor Clinton, he indicated that while his zeal for the American cause had not diminished, "the unhappy penetration of the enemy threw the Northern frontiers of this State . . . has deprived Your Excellency's petitioner of every necessary suport for his famaly haveing had his Crops Distroyed his Houses Barn & fences burnt by them. The great depreciation of the paper currency, together with the Exorbitant price of almost every article & the pressing Demands of his famaly, oblidges your Excellency's petitioner hereby to request to be Dismissed from the Service that he may more freely applye himself to answer the avocations of his famaly. . . ."[49] The fact that he had not been promoted to captain undoubtedly had some bearing on his decision. Shortly after he had returned home, Sherwood was inclined to re-enter the service and his willingness to do so was expressed to the Governor. "Lt. Sherwood, that was of Van Schaick's Regt. will also serve; he says you mentioned the matter to him; he was with us to the northward & a very good officer."[50] Sherwood subsequently accepted a Captain's Commission in Colonel John McCrea's Regiment of New York Levies. By August eleventh, a detachment of the Levies was "in actual Service at Fort Ann under the command of Capt. Sherwood."[51] In some respects, this seemed rather logical since Sherwood had been in command of the First New York garrison at Fort Ann in 1777.

On October tenth, a British force of "Seven Hundred Seventy Eight men" appeared before Fort Ann. The surrender of the garrison was demanded and refused. Reassessing the situation and considering that, "I have with me seventy five men, officers encluded, which was the whole of my Garrison, and not to exceed 10 rounds of amonission pr man, my communication cutt off and without the least hopes of release for some time", Sherwood surrendered "myself and men as prissenors of war."[52] As a prisoner on board the British Ship Carleton, Sherwood indicated that he was "used with the greatest politeness."[53] He addressed "a few lines to Mrs. Sherwood" with a request that they be sent to her "by the first safe hand." However as Adiel Sherwood pointed out, the prospect of existence as a British prisoner was not inviting. "I am in a poor situation to continue in this cold climet this winter, haveing no cloze with me but what I brought on my back, and destitute of any money. Most consequently suffer greatly; if no way is Devized by our Legislative body for the release of the State prisenors. My men are very bad clad and most part of them without shoes."[54]

Ensign Klock had been "on furlough to resign" for several weeks before his resignation from the First New York was officially recognized on May sixteenth. The reason for his resignation has been the subject of some speculation. It has been said that he left the Regiment to join the British.[55] This does not accurately describe the circumstances in which Ensign Klock became involved, and it was not until August of 1782 that the true situation became known. According to his own sworn statement, Jacob J. Klock had been taken prisoner by the Indians at "Remsnyders Bush" in March of 1780.[56] He was "carried" to Montreal where he spent the next forty days in prison. Upon his release from "Goal" he lived for about two months with Colonel Campbell. Following this short period, he agreed to serve in a particular British regiment and entered ". . . Sir Jn^o Johnsons Corp . . . as a private soldier. . . ."[57] Sir John Johnson's Regiment was one of those British units which roamed the length and breadth of the Mohawk Valley. With escape obviously in mind, when asked why he had agreed to serve in a British regiment, Ensign Klock indicated that the reason for his joining ". . . Sir Johns Corps was that he might have an opportunity to return home."[58] An opportunity presented itself in July 1780 when Sir John's Regiment was stationed at Oswego. On July twenty-eighth, Jacob J. Klock was one of six men under the command of Sergeant Henry Deal of the 2nd Battalion of Royal Yorkers sent out as a scouting party to "procure intelligence."

A trip of four days—partially by canoe, partially overland, through the woods—brought the party to “Fort Nellus” a fortified farm house along the Mohawk River in the immediate neighborhood of Ensign Klock’s home. The party lay on a hill in sight of “Nellus’s” part of the day and all that night. Jacob Klock remained with the party until about midnight when he left to “. . .conceal himself in a field of Oats near Fort Nellus in order to have an opportunity to find out whether One McDougall was at home from whence he thought he could provide Intelligence and get some provisions for the party.”[59] In the morning, from their position on the hill, the remainder of the scouting party watched as Ensign Klock called to “. . . a Negro man of his fathers at Work in the field . . . and desired the Negro to call Esq. Nellus and his father. . . .”[60] The Negro soon returned accompanied by two white men, “. . . the two white men, were Clock’s father & Esq. Nellus.[61] Thereupon Jacob Klock accompanied his father and “Esquire Nellus” back to the house. It was apparent to the rest of the scouting party that Ensign Klock had “. . . delivered himself up with a view of throughing himself on the mercy of his country. . . .”[62]

For some time following Washington’s agreement to relieve the First New York from duty at Fort Schuyler, little or nothing was actually accomplished to bring about the re-assignment of the Regiment. The weeks dragged on. Threats against the friendly Oneidas were increasing. “Good Peter”, “Scononda” and “little Abraham” had disappeared. Desertions in the Regiment were becoming more frequent. An increasing restlessness seemed to characterize some of the men and morale was generally down. Little things became big things. A typical illustration was provided by Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck in his request that, “I shall be much obliged to you if you will assist Mrs. Van Dyck in getting me Silver Dollars for some Guineas. . . .”[63] Colonel Van Schaick’s communication to General Washington evidenced his alarm over the situation at the Fort and the course of events in the whole Valley and indicated “. . . the Garrison of Fort Schuyler is weak as Your Excellency will perceive by the last return should an attack be made, they have only provisions & meat for one Month . . . the Militia of Tryon Country have as good as refused to turn out . . . the frontier settlements are breaking up fast & if some remedy is not soon applied, Schonectady will be our frontier Settlement.”[64] “Your Excellency’s feelings must daily, increase on account of the distressed situation of our Affairs relative to supplies for the Army & the naked situation of our Western & Northern frontiers for the want of Men & provisions.”[65]

The Regiment posted the usual guards at Fort Schuyler on Monday night, May twenty-second. At half past ten, “the Officer of the guard observed that two of his Centinels did not call out the hour of the night. . . .”[66] It was quickly apparent to the officer upon “viewing the Posts” that the guards had abandoned their duty. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was notified immediately. He “instantly occasioned the Garrison to Parade and ordered the Rolls called. . . .”[67] His suspicions were correct. Thirty-one men had deserted, “twenty seven of Colonel Van Schaick’s Regiment & four of Captain Browns Company of Artillery.”[68] It was determined that the instigator and leader of the deserters was William Conway, private in Captain Hick’s Company.

The garrison was weak to begin with and to dispatch a party of the First New York in pursuit of the deserters seemed imprudent to Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck. He requested the Oneida Indians to “collect their warriors” for the purpose of pursuing the deserters. The Indians complied and by noon on Tuesday, forty Oneida arrived at the fort. They asked that an officer of the First New York accompany them. Lieutenant Abraham Hardenbergh was ordered to go with the Indians, and at one o’clock he and the Oneida began their pursuit of the deserters. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck’s instructions were “to bring in of them as many prisoners as possible . . . if they resisted to fight them till they surrendered.”[69] Lieutenant Hardenbergh and the Indians left Fort Schuyler “about one o’clock” Tuesday afternoon and picked up the tracks of the deserters about two miles from the fort. By nightfall they had covered “about fifteen miles” and “laid down to sleep.” Early on Wednesday morning, the pursuit was resumed and by eleven o’clock they reached the place where the deserters “had slept the preceding night.” The Indians hurried on arriving at the Grand River about a half hour before sunset. Following along the river, Lieutenant Hardenbergh and the Oneida Warriors soon came upon the deserters. “. . . We found them crossing the River with a little Raft they made for that purpose—three Rafts of them containing five at a time, had already got over: Sixteen remained yet on the near side. . . .”[70] As Lieutenant Hardenbergh’s party approached, the fifteen deserters that had already gotten across the River “hallowed to the rest that the Indians were coming on them. . . .”[71] The Oneida braves moved in attempting to take the deserters. When he saw the Indians approaching, Conway fired. That was the signal for all of the deserters to open fire. The Indians returned the fire “Killing thirteen of the Sixteen that remained on the near side, & took three prisoners.”[72] Lieutenant Hardenbergh then called to those deserters across the river “to come and give themselves up and they should not be hurt.” The only reply was continued musket fire.

Next morning, six of the Indians crossed the river to find that of the fifteen deserters on that side, eleven had thrown aside their packs and “run off Precipitately different ways.” Lieutenant Hardenbergh estimated that the four remaining packs “contained about three loaves of Bread which must answer the fifteen to March one hundred and fifty miles to Oswagatchee their intended place."[73] A lack of provisions prevented further pursuit. Thursday morning Lieutenant Hardenbergh and the Oneida, together with the prisoners, started back to Fort Schuyler arriving at the garrison about one o'clock Friday afternoon, May twenty-sixth.

Responding to Lieutenant Hardenbergh's questions as to why they had deserted, the prisoners indicated that "they had been deluded off by Conway & some of the rest but could give no other reasons . . . ." They explained that "the whole party had agree'd to be true to one another and that they would resist any party that should pursue them in order to take them."[74]

On Saturday, May twenty-seventh, Lieutenant Hardenbergh was ordered to make a full report of the occurrences and proceed to Albany immediately to inform Colonel Van Schaick. On the first of June, Colonel Van Schaick forwarded the report of the "Mutiny and Desertion" in the First New York to General Washington.[75] In another communication a few days later, Colonel Van Schaick indicated to the Commander-in-Chief that the situation of the First New York Regiment at Fort Schuyler was far from satisfied. "My uneasiness is increased by advices from Colonel Van Dyck from whom I learn that a General disatisfaction still subsists from their long Confinement, not having received their pay for Nine Months, and destitute of Shoes, Stockings, & Shirts, which three articles I have neglected no method to endeavour to obtain for them without success."[76] The President of Congress was made aware of the events by General Washington. "I am unhappy to inform your Excellency, that a spirit of great dissatisfaction has prevailed of late among the Troops garrisoning Fort Schuyler; and that from my latest accounts from thence, it was far from having subsided when they were dispatched. The want of pay and the necessary Cloathing, particularly Shirts, is assigned as the primary cause. Matters have been carried so far, as for thirty one Men to go off in a body for Oswagachee."[77]

The mutiny in the First New York followed, by only a short time, mutinies in the regiments of other states including Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. It was not the last. The morale of the entire Continental Army had been adversely affected by the widespread lack of a bare minimum of food, clothing, shelter and pay. The winter if 1779-80 was severe and added to the misery and problems. To the troops, many persons in high places seemed to be indifferent to the condition of the soldiers. In some of the other regiments, physical violence or force was used by the men against their officers. This was not the case in the First New York with the single exception of the shots directed at Lieutenant Hardenbergh while attempting to capture the deserters. The one aspect of the incident in the First New York which has been termed as unique in the history of the American army was Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck's use of Indians to pursue and kill American soldiers.

In May, the enemy foray into Tryon County led by Sir John Johnson made former attacks appear trifling by comparison. From Montreal with six hundred Royal Greens, Rangers and Indians, Johnson sailed down Lake Champlain to Crown Point. During the night of May twenty-first, he reached the settlements in the Johnstown area. Part of Johnson's force swept westward to Caughnawaga; part remained at Johnstown. In all directions and throughout the countryside, houses, barns and buildings not belonging to Tories were burned; cattle were killed; horses driven off; inhabitants killed and taken captive. The torch applied on such a scale left an appalling trail of ashes and ruins.

An immediate check to Sir John was imperative. Continental troops could not be brought to bear in time and reliance on the militia was mandated. This alone did not provide a satisfactory answer. In order to court success as far as possible and, as he had on numerous occasions in the past, Governor Clinton turned to Colonel Van Schaick the man who he felt best able to effect a quick remedy to the situation. Interesting to note was the fact that Colonel Van Schaick had served with Sir John Johnson during the French and Indian War.

Late in the afternoon on Monday, the twenty-second, the Colonel left Albany enroute to Schenectady.[78] By Wednesday, the twenty-fourth, he had gone on to Fort Hunter where he remained for several days indicating that, "I had expected when I left Albany to have been able to collect a considerable force at this place, but on my Arrival . . . I could not muster more than One Hundred & Eighty men; Thursday 250, & Friday 500. . . ."[79]

Sir John's destructive activity continued for about a week after which he withdrew, was able to reach his boats at Crown Point, and returned to Canada. Governor Clinton had intended to intercept Johnson's withdrawal before he could reach his boats. The Governor directed Colonel Van Schaick ". . . to move forward & hang close upon and harass his Rear, to afford Time for me to gain his Front, with the Militia to the North of Albany. . . ."[80] However, the plan did not carry. ". . . Before my Letter reached Colo Van Schaick, the Militia in that Quarter, being out of Provision & finding S'r John retiring, were returning Home which was also the Case with those who had assembled & I expected to have found at Fort Edward."[81] Confirming the Governor's remarks, Colonel Van Schaick explained, "Sir John directed his Course high up in the Country, by a back rout that leads towards Crown Point; when I had Collected a force Sufficient to pursue I could not furnish the Men with more than two days provision . . . Neither was it practicable to overtake Sir John unless he made long halts, and I Judged that party for this purpose ought to have been furnished with provisions sufficient to Carry them to Fort Edward or George, having at present only provisions for one day & cannot obtain more than from hand to mouth, disenables me from prosecuting the measure your Excllency has adopted . . . I shall remain here till to-morrow . . . Public Matters require my Immediate attention at Schonectady & Albany."[82]

The Oneida Indians were coming under increasing pressure as a result of their adherence to the American cause. Colonel Van Schaick informed the Governor, "I have reason to fear that if the Oneidas who are the only Indian nation in our interest in these parts don't soon receive some encouragement of protection, will leave their Castle & move off to the Enemy."[83] The Oneida Chiefs themselves advised Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck at Fort Schuyler that, "the whole Oneida nation should be taken prisoners in a short time, except shuch as emediately Repaired to Niagara or Oswego . . . our Town must be distroyed to open the road to the Mohawk River and after the Onidas are secured, the enemy Intend to lay wast the Mohawk River as far as Schenectady or Albany . . . our women are much terrified with the view of their approaching ruin; they have Concluded to move down into the Country and seek a place of safety among the Inhabitants of the United States; many of the Warriors approve of their Determination; so soon as the women and children are secured the warriers will Return to your garrison & be at your Command . . . we are not able to defend ourselves at Oneida against the force we are sure will come against us. . . ."[84] Indeed, the plight of the Oneidas was apparent. General Washington, too, agreed that, "good policy as well as humanity point out the expediency of supporting them while the Men are in Arms with us . . . You will therefore be pleased from time to time to direct provisions to be issued for this purpose,"[85] were his instructions to Colonel Van Schaick.

On July third, word came that, "the Oneidas have been surrounded by a party of the Enemy, consisting of about 180 Indians and Tories."[86] Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was fearful that "the Oneidas might be prevailed upon to quit their Country & join the King . . ."[87] It was learned that Good Peter and "Scononda," Oneida braves well known to the officers and men of the First New York together with their families were prisoners of the enemy and confined at Niagara. It soon became evident to the Oneidas that those of their tribe held prisoner would not be returned, "but on this Condition that the Oneidas will join the Six Nations." The Oneidas were told that, ". . . they should not taste of their Corn Fields this year unless they complied. . . ."[88] The Indians informed Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck that "The Plan laid at Niagara to bring this about was as follows: upon return of this Party, a large Body of both English & Indians are to come down, the English to lay Siege to Fort Schuyler, the Indians in the mean Time to surround Oneida, send in one of the Prisoners, retain the other till they should comply."[89] The Oneida did not have long to wait. Colonel Van Schaick's words of July twenty-ninth tell the story, "Having yesterday been informed that the whole of the Oneida Nation Consisting of four hundred souls totally destitute of provisions have been obliged to fly to the Fort for protection—The provisions of that Garrison will be exhausted—these Indian families are on their way down but wait for the Batteaus which having a small quantity of Prov & other Stores sent from Schonectady, (before the news of these Refugee Indians) were detained on the route on the report of the approach of five hundred of the Enemy, at which place the Guard threw up works & put themselves under cover & now waiting for a reinforcement to their Guard."[90]

An attack on Fort Schuyler by the British from Montreal had been expected about May fifteenth.[91] "They say that the Enemy were making great preparations for the Expedition & the Cannon was moved out of Montreal . . . they were informed that the Troops to the amount of five thousand would March for the Fort on the 15th Ins^{t}."[92] The First New York still remained at Fort Schuyler, Governor Clinton shared the view that a move against Fort Schuyler was imminent and, in addition, expressed the opinion that, "I believe it is beyond a Doubt that an Attempt ag't that Post was intended last Fall had not the Cold Weather which set in uncommonly early oblidged the Enemy to return to Oswego, where a considerable Force under Sir John Johnson had arrived."[93] There seemed no doubt that some assault against Fort Schuyler would be made by the British. The experience of the Oneida Indians was the prelude. It only remained when or how soon.

About six o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, July twenty-sixth, the British and their Indian allies appeared in force at Fort Schuyler. They numbered some eight hundred, "including two hund'd whites . . . and encamped a little below the Indian fields."[94] In an effort to gain a better appraisal of the situation, Major Graham sent some of the Oneidas from the Fort into the enemy camp where they saw "several British officers—one a German who wore a star on his breast" and reported that "Joseph Brant was with them."[95] They had seen Scononda and Good Peter with their families in the British Camp. As Major Graham said, "The rest of the Oneidas are with us in the Fort and seem determined to oppose them."[96] The opinion that "the enemy are coming to besiege the fort & this party is coming to cut off our communication," was expressed by the Grasshopper, an Oneida chieftain, and was generally accepted as the nature of the situation by those at the fort.

On Thursday morning "about sunrise," the enemy sallied forth from their camp and "paraded a little below the Old Fort in full view." The artillery from the fort opened fire immediately. The enemy was driven back, "after which they fell to killing the horses and Cattle belonging to the Oneida Indians."[97] A steady fire was directed at the fort until Nine O'clock. The English and their Indian allies then returned to camp.

The attack on the fort seemed to pull the men together and give them renewed energy. There had been so many rumors and reports of an enemy attack for so long that the actual occurrence was almost accepted with relief. Major Graham indicated his observation as to the reaction of the First New York. "Our little handful of men behaved with the greatest spirit and chearfullness & are determined to defend the Fort while they can get a horse or dog to eat, what a pity such brave troops should be used in such a Scandalous manner."[98] Reaction to the attack by the men of the Regiment was somewhat different than the enemy had anticipated. The general dissatisfaction of the men and the recent mutiny were no secret. Referring to the men of the First New York, it had been said that the "true" reason for the appearance of Joseph Brant and his force before Fort Schuyler was that, "the fullest assurances had been given that they would join him to a man."[99]

Just previous to the attack, Major Graham "had sent Capt. Hicks with sixty men and fifty Oneida warriors to Guard up the Boats from Fort Herkimer." Captain Van Rensselaer was at Fort Herkimer with a supply of provisions destined for Fort Schuyler but would not proceed "for want of a Guard." The importance of seeing the supplies safely to Fort Schuyler and the urgency for sending Captain Hicks and his party were expressed by Major Graham to Colonel Van Schaick. "You know the situation of the Garrison & the condition we must be in should the Boats miscarry."[100] The provisions did not reach Fort Schuyler and subsequently Colonel Van Schaick indicated that the party had been "Stop'd between the Country and Fort Schuyler & if not attacked will be oblidged to return to Fort Herkimer. . . ."[101] Fortunately Major Graham had received warning of the approach of the enemy in time "to inform Capt. Hicks who has Fortifyed himself at Old Fort Schuyler agreeable to my orders. I have ordered Capt. Hicks to continue Fortifying his little Fort till he is relieved from below. . . ."[102] Captain Hicks' party being away from Fort Schuyler at the time of the appearance of the enemy had depleted the Garrison that much further.

The severe winter of 1779–1780 and the resurgence of the enemy depredations in the Mohawk Valley created critical shortages and made delivery of existing supplies hazardous. In May, Colonel Van Schaick had advised General Washington that there was only one month's supply of provisions on hand at Fort Schuyler. Washington was alarmed. "This is a matter of so much importance that every measure ought to be fallen upon to give Relief."[103] Both General Washington and Colonel Van Schaick left no avenue untried in an effort to augment the meager supplies and provisions at Fort Schuyler. Washington had advised the Colonel, "that there is a parcel of Corn near Albany under the direction of Colonel Lewis. You will be pleased to call upon him for it, and endeavor to have it as speedily as possible, sent up to the Fort."[104] Upon investigation, it was learned that the corn referred to had been dispersed and used elsewhere.

To replenish the supply of flour, one hundred barrels were ordered from Morristown to Fort Schuyler.[105] Sent to Colonel Van Schaick's care, they were deposited at Schenectady with the other supplies destined for the fort. Within a month, "another hundred Barrels of Flour from West Point"[106] were ordered to Fort Schuyler.

"As to Salt Meat, which is the only kind which is proper, I know not from whence it is to come."[107] "The Garrison at West Point are, if possible, in a worse situation than we are here."[108] "I wish it was in my power to send up the 100 Barrels of salt provisions which you request. By the last Return from West Point there were only 180 Barrels in all the Works, and General Arnold was far from being certain that he should not be obliged to break in upon them for want of fresh Meat. I have endeavoured to keep a small stock of Provision in each Redoubt in case of a sudden investiture of the Post."[109] General Washington's words were not encouraging. On several occasions he had pointed out to Colonel Van Schaick the desired procedure in the use of supplies at Fort Schuyler. "From the unhappy State of our provision Magazine, it is essential that great economy should be used at that post to lengthen out the Supplies, and the Troops to save the Salt Provision, which should be kept for a case of emergency should draw as far and as long as circumstances will possible permit, supplies from the Country."[110]

When supplies were forwarded to Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck at the Fort, invariably General Washington would urge Colonel Van Schaick to "suggest" to Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, "the propriety and necessity of his obtaining and using whenever possible, Fresh Meat to aid the Salt."[111] One Hundred barrels of salt beef had been sought from the "Commissaries in Connecticut" without success. "Fifty head of Cattle from Connecticut will be here in about five days. These will go to Fort Schuyler as soon as they arrive . . ."[112] No remedy was left untried.

Shoes presented a particular problem. Washington suggested that, "As to Shoes the State Clothier may obtain a supply for the Regiment by applying to the Clothier at New Windsor, or if there are any in Albany belonging to the Continent, he may perhaps negotiate a supply in that way, with more facility by letter."[113] This was by no means a solution to the problem. Colonel Van Schaick's letter to Henry Glen, deputy quartermaster at Schenectady, provides an illustration of his continuous efforts to obtain shoes for the Regiment:

> ". . . The inclosed Letter to John Winn Contains an Order to send down all the Hides from Stone Arabia & Canajohara which he was to have done some time ago, but complains the Boats have not been able to take them in when returning from Fort Schuyler. The interest of my Regiment in a Public Manner is much Concerned.—I wish you to send up Boats sufficient to bring down with all Expectation one hundred & Sixty five Hides in the possession of John Winn and when they arrive at Schenectady to forward them to Major Hitchcock at this place giving notice thereof at the same time to me or Abraham Ten Eyck my Py Master.
>
> I would not have troubled you on this occasion but have in a manner made myself sponsible for the delivery of the Hides before I could obtain shoes for the Regiment."[114]

Colonel Van Schaick's efforts usually produced some success regardless of the scarcity of the item. Nevertheless, a great deal of effort was required to produce a limited quantity and as the Colonel said, "the great difficulty I have been under in procuring only a few pair of shoes. . . ."[115]

There was never enough powder and ball for American muskets. As quantities in Albany dwindled dangerously, in response to Colonel Van Schaick's requests, Washington advised, "I have written to the Commissary of Military Stores at West Point and directed him to forward immediately to Albany . . . Powder and Lead equal to one hundred thousand Rounds, which he will issue on your order or General Rensselaer's."[116]

Guards for the boats carrying supplies to Fort Schuyler had always been a necessity. Since enemy attacks in the Mohawk Valley had been renewed with vigor in the early part of the year, no supplies were transported to Fort Schuyler by any means without a proper guard. It was the same old story. Guards were not always available; supplies had to wait. "Your Excellency may rest assured that no means will be left untried to accomplish your designs respecting the Post of Fort Schuyler for this purpose I have ordered the Boats to be got in readiness & the Provisions deposited at Schonectady. When this is done nothing will be wanting but a Guard to the Batteaus."[117]

Early in June, a guard under the command of Captain Wendell, had left Albany with supplies destined for Fort Schuyler. Upon reaching Fort Plank, Colonel Van Schaick's orders were "for Captain Wendell to take all the Levies which are at Fort Plank to augment his Guard."[118] At the request of the Governor, who was fearful of an inadequate guard, General James Clinton ordered Colonel Gansevoort's regiment to accompany Captain Wendell and the provisions to Fort Schuyler. On the other hand, General Washington was most anxious to have the New York Brigade at West Point. Governor Clinton agreed that Colonel Gansevoort's regiment would proceed to West Point as soon as the supplies had been delivered safely to Fort Schuyler. As the convoy proceeded up the Valley, in compliance with orders from Colonel Van Schaick, a stop was made at Fort Herkimer. Here the commissary was directed to "forward to Commissary Leonard at Fort Schuyler all the rum you have on hand by Capt. Wendell, now going up with stores to that Garrison."[119]

While the lack of provisions and supplies of almost every kind had become an old story to the men of the First New York, the absence of rum seemed to have a greater effect on morale than the absence of some other items. The typical situation was expressed a few weeks ago in May, when, with the supply of rum at the Fort almost gone, Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck had been advised that none was immediately available from Albany and Colonel Van Schaick had indicated that, "It will therefore be necessary that you order what is at the Garrison to be used sparingly & I shall do my endeavor to see that you get some if to be had by the next Boats."[120] Whatever the quantity of rum Captain Wendell was able to deliver to Fort Schuyler, it was soon consumed. Less than a month later with the supply of rum gone, Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck agreed that, ". . . the Paymaster be ordered to purchase a Hogshead and forward it up without Delay; this is desired by all the men, let the Price be what it will . . . Tobacco is an article our Men are in great want of . . . a few Camp Kettls which we want much. . . ."[121]

By the end of July, the supply situation had grown desperate. The seriousness of the problem and the frustrations involved were explained to General Washington by Colonel Van Schaick:

> "I have at present one hundred barrels of Flour, & twenty nine head of Cattle to send up to Fort Schuyler, but how to get them there for want of a guard I know not . . . I have hardly ever been able to obtain more provisions for the Garrison of Fort Schuyler than from hand to Mouth when the communication was not so deficient or uncertain. but for the present for the want of Troops to Convoy the Batteaus should any unforseen accident happen to that Post by the Troops being oblidged to evacuate it for want of provisions I cannot look upon myself as accountable for such misfortune having, exerted myself to the utmost & shall leave no possible means untryed to relieve the Garrison with what provisions I have now ready to send—No dependance can at present be put on our Magazines here, as we are Sometimes without for several days & will be so again tomorrow unless some Cattle arrive."[122]

The need was urgent. The following impress warrant was intended to arm Colonel Van Schaick with the means to provide some relief for the situation:

> "His Excellency, George Clinton, Esquire Governor of the State of New York, General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia & Admiral of the Navy of the same.
>
> To Col^{O}. Goose Van Schaick, Greeting:
>
> The Occasion & Emergency requiring the same by Virtue of the Power & authority vested in me by Law, I do hereby authorize you to impress one hundred & fifty Teams & Waggons, fifty Tons of Flour, or an equivalent in Wheat, ninety Thousand Weight of Beef or Fat Cattle, equivalent thereto, for the use & Service of the Army & for doing this shall be your Warrant.
>
> Given under my Hand at Head Quarters Peek's Kill this thirty-first Day of July in the fifth year of the Independence of the said State & in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty."[123]

In spite of the impress warrant and all of Colonel Van Schaick's ingenuity, the dearth of provisions available and the lack of the means of transportation doomed the efforts to failure. As the Colonel said in early September, "It is with the utmost concern that I inform your Excellency that, notwithstanding the impress Warrants put into the hand of the persons appointed for procuring supplies of provisions for the use of the Troops in this Quarter, nothing has yet been produced in Consequence of them."[124]

This was the state of affairs surrounding the matter of supply. It had grown progressively worse month by month since January and no improvement was achieved before the Regiment was relieved in the latter part of September.

The relief of the First New York Regiment from duty at Fort Schuyler had run into one delay after another since General Washington had agreed to that course on March eighth. The First New York was to be relieved by militia raised in New York state for the defence of the frontier. The Continental Congress, however, had to agree to pay and subsist them before Governor Clinton could authorize them to be raised. The New York Legislature was little help in this connection and, in a somewhat typical performance, adjourned until the first of June.[125] On April fourth, Congress authorized the "State to take 800 Militia into Continental pay."[126] From these eight hundred was to come the relief for the First New York. During the next few weeks, the major obstacle to putting together an effective militia force was the complete lack of almost all kinds of provisions and supplies. Colonel Van Schaick evidenced some of his frustrations and indicated that, "I am incapacitated to draw forth the militia for want of provisions. Our stores are exhausted and it is with difficulty the Commissary furnishes subsistence for those few men who are in the Public service in this part of the Department. Drafts from the militia have been made a week or two since some appeared at the place of Rendezvous, but being unfurnished with provisions were obligated to disband."[127] In agreeing to relieve the First New York by a sufficient number of militia, it was not the Commander-in-Chief's intent to leave the affairs at Fort Schuyler or the defence of the Mohawk Valley in inexperienced hands. The field officers as well as a number of the other officers of the Regiment would be difficult to replace and were uniquely qualified to direct the affairs at Fort Schuyler. With this in mind, on May nineteenth, General Washington outlined to Colonel Van Schaick the plan for the relief of the First New York:

> "I have applied to His Excellency Governor Clinton to relieve your Regiment at Fort Schuyler by a sufficient number of the 800 Militia to be taken into Continental pay for the defence of the Frontier; but as the post is very important, I have proposed that Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck shall remain in command, retaining one or two Commissioned Officers and a few good non Commissioned to assist him. Captain Brown with his Company of Artillery will remain in Garrison. Should the Governor accede to this proposal, you will take proper means to draw your Regiment down to Albany, as soon as the relief has arrived at the Fort; When it reaches Albany be pleased to give me information, and I will direct its further Route."[128]

As a postscript to the letter, the Commander-in-Chief indicated that "The Regiment may come immediately down as far as the Highlands."

Governor Clinton, while in agreement with the relief of the First New York from Fort Schuyler, expressed to General Washington his apprehension "that the Accounts which your Excellency will herewith receive from Col^{O}. Van Schaick of Preparations making by the Enemy to invest that Fortress, may induce you to Continue the present Garrison untill the Strength & Designs of the Enemy in that Quarter can be better ascertained. . . ."[129] However anxious to augment the main army by the addition of the First New York, reflecting on Governor Clinton's words, Washington remarked, "I imagine it will scarcely be deemed prudent to withdraw Col^{o}. Van Schaick's Regiment from Fort Schuyler, except matters take an unexpected turn in that quarter, altho the addition of so respectable a Corps would be very essential. . . ."[130] "I shall not draw down Van Schaick's Regt. untill we see further into the state of matters to the Westward."[131] On May twenty-fourth, General Washington advised Colonel Van Schaick, "Under present appearances and circumstances, I have determined not to draw your Regiment from Fort Schuyler. . . ."[132]

Washington's decision to retain the First New York at Fort Schuyler, at least for the present, was a disappointment to the men. Sympathetic to Governor Clinton's and General Washington's concerns, Colonel Van Schaick also knew that dissatisfaction in the Regiment was increasing with the passage of each day. With the arrival of the New York Brigade in Albany on June tenth, the Colonel again solicited General Washington "for the Regiment to be relieved."[133] Washington was concerned for the safety of West Point and the New York Brigade was soon to be directed to that Post. On June twentieth, however, the Command-in-Chief wrote to Colonel Van Schaick again, setting forth some of his thoughts about the Regiment and the circumstances under which it might be relieved:

> "It is my wish to relieve the Garrison, and as I had done before, I have now written to His Excellency Governor Clinton, and hope that circumstances will admit of a sufficient Detachment of the Men raised for Frontier service, being immediately sent for the purpose. I feel for the wants of the Troops both Officers and Men, but the present is a difficult conjuncture in our Affairs. All that can be done, I hope will be for the relief of the whole, but if they should be disappointed either in their wishes to join the Main Army for the present or in their hopes of supplies, the Troops must not tarnish, by an unbecoming or unsoldierly conduct, the honour and character of perseverance which they have justly acquired. The want of pay and necessaries are not peculiar to the Regiment garrisoning Fort Schuyler: The rest of the Army have experienced the same. . . . When the Garrison is relieved, Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck is still to remain to command at the Post and the Regiment is to join the Main Army. . . ."[134]

On the same day, Washington communicated to Governor Clinton some additional thoughts on the manner in which the First New York was to be relieved:

> "I am much concerned at the dissatisfaction and spirit of desertion, which I find prevailing in Colo Van Schaicks Regiment at Fort Schuyler. Your Excellency will have been fully informed on this head and therefore I will not add any particulars with respect to it. It is much my wish that the Troops of the Garrisons should be relieved, and it may be the more material to do it, from the disposition in which they are, it cannot however be done by Continental Troops without manifest injury under our present circumstances and prospects. I would therefore propose and hope that the plan concerted heretofore between your Excellency and Myself, for sending a part of the Officers and Men raised by the State for Frontier service, may take effect and a number be sent for the defence of the post, which will still remain under the command of Lt Colo Vandyck. In order to make matters more secure, I wish the Detachment destined for the relief, if circumstances will admit, not to be under Three Hundred rank and file. If the post can be relieved in this way, which I hope may be the case, the provisions I have now mentioned had better go under the escort of the Detachment and your Excellency will be so obliging as to correspond with Colo. Vanschaick upon the subject and to direct him such an additional aid of transportation as may be required."[135]

The number of men in the Regiment continued to diminish. By July first, the count was two hundred sixty-two officers and men, down sixty-six since January. The Regiment was still at Fort Schuyler and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, in command at the Fort, was growing more concerned every day. His remarks to Colonel Van Schaick bore a sense of necessity. "As you are well acquainted with the Strength of the Garrison at present, I must, therefore, request if your Reg^{t}. is not to be relieved, that a Supply of Men may be sent me from the Levies on the River or such other as you may think proper."[136] General Washington had anticipated the need. The attack on Fort Schuyler was cause for the Commander-in-Chief to order five hundred Massachusetts Levies, stationed at Claverack, to proceed immediately to the Fort. Washington explained to General Fellows, in charge of the Massachusetts Militia, "As the place is not well supplied with provision, there is reason to fear the loss of that valuable post, unless it is speedily relieved . . . I have written to Colonel Van Schaick at Albany to supply provisions, wagons, and whatever else may be necessary to expedite the march of the detachment . . . When you consider how very essential the post of Fort Schuyler is to the security of our whole frontier, and that the saving of the harvest of the fine country upon the Mohawk River depends upon the immediate removal of the enemy, I am convinced you will not lose any time in marching off the detachment. . . ."[137]

Meanwhile, the continuation of the "disagreeable duty" and what seemed to the men to be the apparent neglect of their desires to be reassigned, did little to counteract the deteriorating morale of the Regiment. Any momentary exuberance experienced by the men as a result of the recent attack was soon dissipated. Over the almost two years that the First New York Regiment garrisoned Fort Schuyler, relatively few men were ever confined under guard at the Fort or in the "Gaol" at Albany. Since the mutiny in May, however, the situation had been different. At Fort Schuyler, in June, the record showed four men of the Regiment "Prisoners in Garrison" for desertion; two for attempting to desert and one for murder: in July, "5 privates sent to Albany "Gaol" for Desertion"; in August "4 privates sent to Albany "Gaol."[138]

Reassignment of the First New York from Fort Schuyler continued to be one of Colonel Van Schaick's prime concerns. He remarked to General Washington, "I find the minds of the Garrison are more disaffected to their situation & circumstances than ever . . . they are made to believe they are to remain until their three years are finished."[139] By the end of August, General Washington agreed that "the discontents prevailing in the Garrison of Fort Schuyler are so alarming, that it seems in dispensable it should be without delay relieved by other troops."[140] Changes in the "general prospects of the Campaign" prompted the Commander in Chief to "order Colonel Malcolm with the Levies under his command . . . to relieve the Garrison of Fort Schuyler."[141] In some respects, other details were also changed. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck and other officers of the First New York were no longer required to remain at Fort Schuyler. However, "a good officer acquainted with the service to command the Garrison will be essential."[142] Washington pointed out that the levies assigned to relieve Fort Schuyler "ought to consist of those, who will have at least two or three months after their arrival to serve; otherwise the post might be endangered, by the expiration of their times. before we can conveniently replace them from the Army."[143]

On August twenty-eighth, General Washington instructed Colonel Van Schaick to put the First New York "under marching orders and when the relief arrives, will march it to join the Army."[144] On September first, Governor Clinton voiced the hope that "the Discontents of the present Garrison will subside when they are informed that measures are taken to relieve them."[145]

On September twelfth, shortly before the First New York began the march to Albany, Colonel Van Schaick shed some light on conditions in the Regiment by his comments to Governor Clinton. "The want of cloathing amongst the men is such that it requires my utmost Exertions to procure them . . . the men are in a manner naked, & that I apprehend on their arrival at Schenectady, great Desertions will take place if we have nothing to give them . . . I must intreat the favour of your Excellency to furnish the bearer, Lieut. Abraham Ten Eyck, Paymaster, with an order on Mr. Bleecker to deliver all the shirts & Linnen he may have in his hands, provided it does not exceed one shirt & a pair of Overhalls pr man. As the Regiment has not received any kind of Cloathing since the first of December last, it is easily judged the Condition they must be in. . . ."[146]

Word of the reassignment of the First New York spread quickly. Colonel Van Schaick had the reputation of being a rigid disciplinarian. His seniority and position of command in the Northern Department had been the occasion for some professional jealousy, particularly in the case of his brother-in-law, Colonel Peter Gansevoort. Gansevoort had been lieutenant colonel under Goose Van Schaick in the old Second New York. He had married Colonel Van Schaick's sister Catherine. However, the two men had never gotten along well together and there appeared to be little respect one for the other. Under the circumstances, Gansevoort was not anxious for a close association with Colonel Van Schaick. When Colonel Gansevoort learned that the First New York would soon join the other regiments of the New York Brigade, he remarked to his wife, "It is said that Col^{o}. Van Schaick is expected down with his Regiment. I have not the least objection to his Regiment but wish most ardently that you would keep him in his old nest."[147]

Colonel Van Schaick was in Albany and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was on furlough in Schenectady when the First New York marched out of the main gate of Fort Schuyler under the command of Major Graham. Relief had been effected, and the Regiment was bound for Albany. The stay in Albany was short. No time was lost in moving the Regiment forward. By October fourteenth, the First New York had left Albany "on their way to join the army."[148] On Tuesday, October seventeenth, the Regiment arrived at West Point.[149] Since Colonel Van Schaick had gone with the Regiment to West Point, Washington was concerned that there should be "an officer in whom the state has confidence to take the general direction of affairs at Albany and on the Frontier." He ordered Brigadier General James Clinton to take command of the Northern Department and to proceed to Albany for that purpose.

The main fortification at West Point was Fort Clinton. Located at the northeast corner of the plain, it was surrounded on the south and west by a series of smaller "Forts" or redoubts. Fort Webb and Fort Willis were just south of the plain, approximately one-half mile and three-quarters of a mile respectively, and situated on the immediate heights. On higher ground and somewhat further to the west, Fort Putnam commanded a view of the plain, Fort Clinton and the River. It had been thought necessary, as a protection for Fort Clinton, to have such a position on the heights from which artillery could control the entire area. Four additional redoubts comprised the outworks and formed the pattern of protection against attack by land from the rear. All redoubts had their compliment of cannon and were manned and provisioned on a regular basis. Redoubts number one and two were the most southerly and overlooked the road from Fort Montgomery. By road, they were approximately two and one-half miles from Fort Clinton and became known as "Stony Lonesome". Redoubt number four was about one-half mile directly west of Fort Putnam. Redoubt number three was the most isolated and represented the westernmost of the fortifications. Situated on a height surrounded by rough, rocky terrain, it was the first line of defense for the back door to West Point.

In the disposition of the troops on October ninth, the New York Brigade was instructed to "Encamp upon West Point."[150] In case of alarm, the Yorkers were to man Fort Willis, Fort Webb and Fort Putnam.[151] By the time the First New York arrived to join the other regiments of the New York Brigade, on October seventeenth, instructions regarding quarters had become more specific. "The New York Brigade to Hutt in the woods near firruits and as near the Redouts N^{o} three as the Ground will admit."[152] The regiments of the New York Brigade promptly fell to constructing huts for their own occupancy.

The drawing off of the First New York and the other Continental regiments from the Mohawk Valley to West Point created a situation very similar to that which existed in the spring of 1778. Defence of the area was left to the levies and the militia. As the Continental regiments left, panic struck the hearts of the inhabitants and prompted those in command to recommend the return of some Continental troops. Almost simultaneously with the departure of the First New York from Albany, Governor Clinton sought assistance from General Washington. "If it was possible for your Excellency to spare some Continental Troops on this occassion they would inspire the Militia with Confidence & enable us to repel the Enemy."[153] Washington was receptive to Governor Clinton's plea. Some confusion resulted from the fact that a number of Continental troops who had made the trip down from Albany were directed back to that city. The movement of the troops seemed exasperating and without plan. On the day that Colonel Van Schaick and the First New York arrived at West Point, General Heath, then in command at West Point, expressing his consternation remarked, "I wish he had been detained, if it was necessary."[154] The Regiment remained at West Point but a few weeks. On November seventh, General Heath ordered the First New York "to embark with all possible expedition & proceed for Albany."[155] Washington had directed General Clinton that should the need no longer exist, the First New York was to return to West Point. This did not come to pass and the Regiment remained in Albany through the end of the year.

During the few weeks Colonel Van Schaick and the Regiment spent at West Point, an event took place which, while it had no direct effect upon the First New York Regiment, involved the Commander and a former captain of the Regiment.

Richard Varick had been appointed a captain in the First New York when the Regiment was raised on June 28, 1775. He progressed through various assignments including military secretary to General Schuyler and Deputy Muster Master General of the Northern Army. He attained the rank of lieutenant colonel. In August of 1780, he became aide-de-camp to General Benedict Arnold. Arnold's subsequent treason left Varick under suspicion. As a result, Varick requested a court of inquiry be convened to review the facts and clear his name. Accordingly, on November second, a court of inquiry was held at West Point for that purpose. President of the court was Colonel Goose Van Schaick. The court's report was unanimous ". . . that Lieutenant Colonel Varick's Conduct with respect to the base Peculations and Treasonable Practices of the late General Arnold is not only unimpeachable but think him entitled (throughout every part of his conduct) to a degree of Merit that does him great honor as an Officer and particularly distinguishes him as a sincere Friend to his Country."[156] Despite the findings of the court, Lieutenant Colonel Varick remained under suspicion in some quarters. It was not until May of 1781, when General Washington appointed him as his confidential secretary, that suspicious whisperings regarding Richard Varick were silenced.

The end of the year meant the expiration of the enlistment of many men in the levies and militia. One of the most desirable pieces of equipment for any militiaman to take home with him was his musket, even though it had been supplied to him from the Continental Magazine and was not his own personal property. Back in October, General Washington had chided General Clinton about Continental arms being put into the hands of the militia at Albany and supposed that this had been done "more than probably" by the order of Colonel Van Schaick or Colonel Malcolm. He suggested to General Clinton "that every possible means may be used to recover them to the public and no more delivered to Militia."[157] Colonel Van Schaick had left Albany two weeks prior to Washington's communication to General Clinton and before the General could proceed to Albany to take command of the Northern Department. In connection with the "arms which have been heretofore carried off by the discharged men", Washington finally had to indicate that "the Commanding Officers of regiments will be answerable for all deficiencies which cannot be accounted for."[158]

At year end, the muster roll of Officers of the First New York showed some changes:[159]

"LIGHT INFANTRY

Andrew Finck	Captain
John C. Ten Broeck	Lieutenant
Jacob H. Wendell	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

1st COMPANY

Benjamin Hicks	Captain
Ephram Snow	Lieutenant
Abraham Ten Eyck	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

2nd COMPANY

John H. Wendell	Captain
Nathaniel Henry	Lieutenent
Henry Van Woert	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

3rd COMPANY

Nicholas Van Rensselaer	Captain
Abraham Hardenbergh	Lieutenant
Wilhelmus Ryckman	Ensign

4th COMPANY

Charles Parsons	Captain
Bartholomew Van Valkenberg	Lieutenant
Ephraim Marsh	Ensign

5th COMPANY

Guy Young	Captain "on furlough 23 Dec. 1780"
William Scudder	Lieutenant
Benjamin Gilbert	Ensign

6th COMPANY

Goose Van Schaick	Colonel
Guy Young	Capt. Lieut. "Promoted Captain 14 July 1779"
Barent S. Salisbury	Capt. Lieut.

7th COMPANY

Cornelius Van Dyck	Lt. Colonel
Peter B. Tearse	1st Lieutenant
Bartholomew Van Valkenberg	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

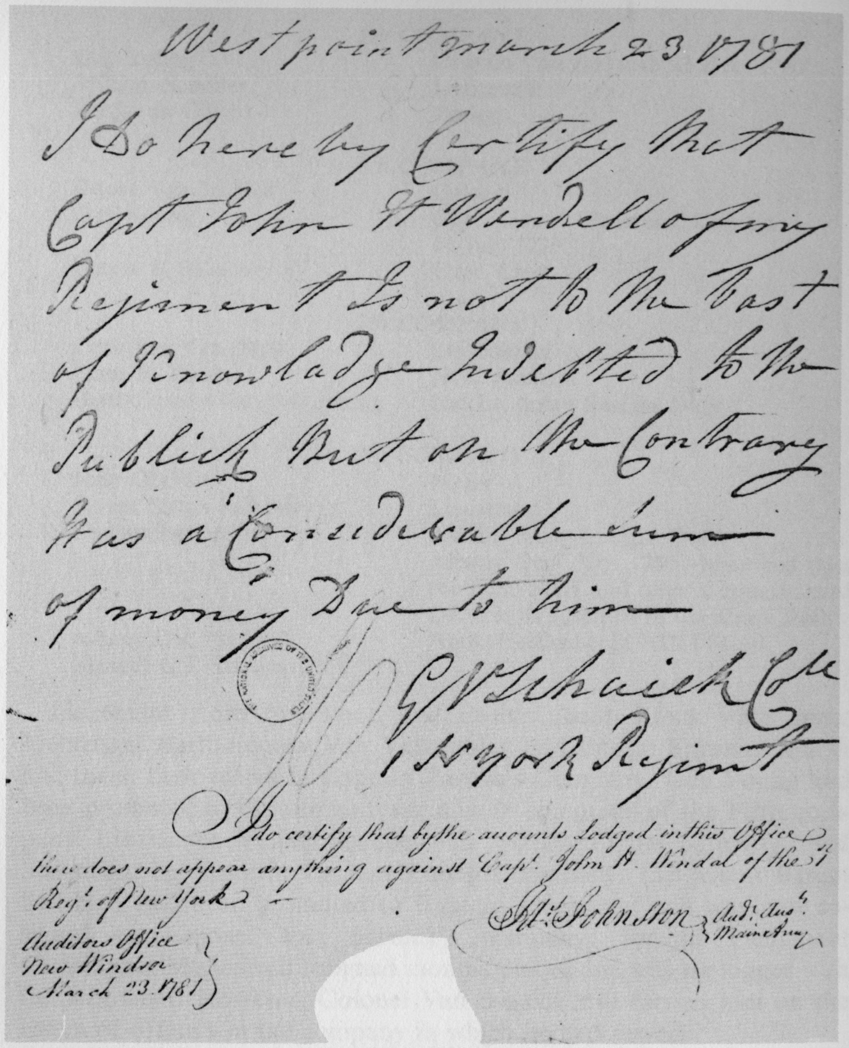
8th COMPANY

John Graham	Major
Barent Staats Salisbury	Lieutenant
Christopher Muller	2nd Lt. doing Ensigns Duty

Albany Dec^{r} 30th 1780—Mustered then the Field Staff and other Commissioned Officers as specified in the above Rolls
Abm. Hardenbergh ADM Mast^{r}

Albany Dec. 30 1780
(signed) G V Schaick Col^{o}."

Lieutenant Adiel Sherwood and Ensign Jacob Klock were gone; Lieutenant Bartholomew Van Valkenberg and Ensign Ephraim Marsh had taken their places in Captain Parson's Company. Guy Young had been promoted to captain and was now in command of the Fifth company. Lieutenant William Scudder had "returned from Captivity" and had taken his place in Captain Young's company. Lieutenant Barent Salisbury had been promoted to Captain Lieutenant and was now assigned to Colonel Van Schaick's company. Second Lieutenant Christopher Muller had resigned months before and was no longer with the Regiment. However, Colonel Van Schaick still carried him on the rostra of officers in the company in which he had served.



West point march 23 1781

I Do here by Certify that Capt John H Wendell of my Regiment Is not to the best of Knowladge Indebted to the Publick But on the Contrary Has a Considerable Sum of money Due to him

G V Schaick Cole
1 N York Regimt

I do certify that by the accounts Lodged in this Office there does not appear anything against Capt. John H. Windal of the 1 Regt. of New York

Jno. Johnston Audr. Accts. Main Army

Auditors Office
New Windsor
March 23. 1781

Cerfitication by Colonel Van Schaick (his handwriting and signature) regarding Captain John H. Wendell.

Courtesy National Archives, Washington, D.C.

SEVEN

1781

The final reorganization of the Continental Army was embodied in an Act of Congress passed on September 21, 1780. The details of the new army establishment were sent to the states on October Sixth. In his letter to Governor Clinton, Samuel Huntington, president of the Continental Congress, explained some of the circumstances surrounding the new establishment and some of the desired objectives:

> "By this Arrangement the Number of Battalions is greatly reduced, and of Consequence many of the Officers now retained in the Service must retire for the present; but after just & equitable Compensation is made to them, the Saving of Expence will be very great.
>
> Congress are extremely anxious, not only to avoid the Dangers of Embarrassments heretofore experienced by Delays in recruiting the Army until the Opening of the Campaign, but also to establish a permanent Army, of Troops engaged for the War; to consist of such Numbers as may be adequate to the Service, and at the same Time not exceed the Ability of the States to raise & support and constantly recruit so as to keep up the Number.
>
> It is recommended to the States in the most pressing manner to have their regiments completed & in the Field by the first of January next at farthest.
>
> The Commander in Chief will cause immediate returns to be made of the Deficiencies of each State according to this Arrangement.
>
> You will observe, Sir, that the respective States are to select from the Line of the Army, the Number of Officers to command the several regiments to them respectively assigned; taking notice that no new Appointment is to be made, of higher rank than Lieut. Colonel Commandant, for substantial reasons supposed to be known to all the States.
>
> But the first & immediate Object, is to complete the regiments to their full Number of non Commissioned Officers & Privates; which is recommended in the most pressing manner as of the greatest Importance."[1]

New York's quota in the new establishment was two regiments of infantry and one of artillery. Each regiment of infantry was to "consist of nine companies, and each company of 64 non-commissioned officers & privates. . . ."[2]

The states were instructed to fill their respective regiments with men enlisted "for and during the war." However, if this were not possible, "to supply the deficiency with men engaged to serve for not less than one year unless sooner relieved by recruits inlisted for the war. . . ."[3]

Each regiment was to keep a recruiting officer in the state to which it belonged. Two dollars was to be "granted" to the recruiting officer for every able bodied soldier he inlisted "who shall join the army." A sum not exceeding fifty dollars was to be allowed as a bounty to every such recruit.

Shortly after the details of the new arrangement were made known, Congress made "some very material and salutary amendments" to the Act, "giving half pay for life to the officers, confining the term of service expressly to the War, and augmenting the number of men in each Reg't. to 612 Rank and file."[4]

The reorganization of the army, particularly as it pertained to their own regiment, had been a subject for speculation and discussion by the officers and men of almost every unit in the Continental Line; including the First New York. In May of last year Colonel Van Schaick had remarked, "A committee of Congress of which General Schuyler is one, are now at HeadQuarters newmoulding the Army, which plan they will fall upon is not yet known but generally talked off that the non-commissioned officers & privates of such Regiments as are to be reduced will be drafted for those that continue on the Establishment and the supernumarary officers sent home on full pay but no Rations or other."[5] The Colonel, referring to the same committee, also felt that one of the reasons for the delay in the relief of the First New York from Fort Schuyler was "that his Excellency will order our Relieve as soon as the Committee . . . have finished their Business, which Won't be long. . . ."[6]

For New York, the realignment meant the consolidation of five incomplete infantry regiments into two regiments, each with a full compliment of both officers and men. The First New York Regiment remained in being as one of the two surviving units. A consolidation of the Third New York Regiment into the First New York became effective on January 1, 1781. No one registered surprise at General Washington's remark that, "by the incorporation of the 1st and 3d. Regiments, the command of them both devolves upon Col^{o}. Van Schaick. . . ."[7]

The First New York and the Third New York had seen service together on a number of occasions. They were together for the Canadian campaign in 1775, again at White Plains in 1776 and in the Mohawk Valley and Fort Schuyler in 1777. Captain Bleeker's Company of the Third New York had been part of the Onondaga Expedition under Colonel Van Schaick in 1779. Contact between contingents of the two Regiments was frequent during 1779 and 1780. There had been some interchange of officers between the two regiments and Surgeon's Mate John Elliot,

Lieutenant William Tapp and Captain Leonard Bleeker are but a few examples. Many officers of the two regiments were well-known to one another. As terms of enlistment expired and the regiments were together, men from one regiment frequently enlisted in the other. This was particularly noticeable in December of 1776 when enlistments expired in the First New York and, rather than re-inlist and go north with the Regiment, many of the men enlisted in the Third New York. Also, discipline in the First New York was usually somewhat more rigid than in the Third New York and, in this connection, both Colonel Van Schaick's and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck's reputations were well-known.

The task of combining the two Regiments presented many problems not the least of which was the appointment of officers. Obviously, there were not enough positions in the "re-organized" Regiment to accommodate all of the officers of both Regiments. Generally, officers were to be appointed and receive rank on the basis of seniority. It was expected that a number of retirements and resignations would take place. Some officers wished to resign for various reasons and this provided an opportunity. Some were disappointed that others of similar rank were placed before them. Some were disappointed that they had not received a promotion and resigned to accept positions of higher rank in the militia. There were those who accepted an appointment in the re-organized Regiment and then resigned a short time later.

However, in the new arrangement many of the officers of the First New York stayed to serve in the Regiment. The field officers of the First New York continued in their same capacities. Colonel Van Schaick remained commander of the Regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck and Major Graham both continued to serve in the Regiment with their same rank. Lieutenant Jacob H. Wendell was appointed Adjutant of the Regiment to replace Lieutenant Peter B. Tearse who was on leave to resign. Lieutenant Henry Van Woert continued as regimental quarter master. Lieutenant Abraham Hardenburgh remained with the unit and became brigade quarter master. Caleb Sweet retained the position of surgeon. John Elliot, who had been appointed surgeon's mate in the Fall of 1780, remained with the Regiment in that capacity. Lieutenant Ephram Snow was named recruiting officer.

A few of the officers of the First New York were not included in the new arrangement; Captains Nicholas Van Rensselaer and Guy Young, Captain Lieutenant Barent Salisbury, Lieutenants Abraham Ten Eyck, Bartholomew Van Valkenberg, and William Scudder. Most notable of those officers not included was Captain Andrew Finck.

Captain Finck had served with Colonel Van Schaick since the beginning of the war. He was particularly valuable on the New York frontier where, as a native of Stone Arabia, his knowledge of the area proved invaluable many times. His last assignment with the First New York was command of the light infantry company. He went on to serve as major of militia under Lt. Colonel Marinus Willett and the latter's remark that, ''The Particular attention great Diligence and manly Deportment of Andrew Finck . . . merits everything that can be said in his praise'', typified the caliber of service rendered by Andrew Finck.[8]

The following ''Return of the Names, Rank & Date of Commission of the Officers in the First New York Regiment'' indicated the arrangement of the Officers of the Regiment on January 1, 1781:[9]

NAMEs	RANK	DATES OF COMMISSIONS	STAFF APPOINTMENT
Goose Van Schaick	Colonel	June 28, 1775	
Cornelius Van Dyck	Lieut. Col^{o}.	Nov. 21, 1776	
John Graham	Major	March 26, 1779	
Aaron Aorson	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776	
Cornelius T. Jansen	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776	
Benjamin Hicks	Captain	Feb^{y}. 16, 1776	
John H. Wendell	Captain	March 1, 1776	
Leonard Bleecker	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776	
James Gregg	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776	
Henry Tiebout	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776	
Charles Parsons	Captain	March 26, 1779	
George Sytez	Captain	Jan^{y}. 7, 1780	
John C. Ten Broeck	Lieutenant	March 1, 1776	
Peter B. Tearse	Lieutenant	March 1, 1776	
Nathaniel Henry	Lieutenant	Nov. 21, 1776	
Benjamin Bogardus	Lieutenant	Nov. 21, 1776	
Abraham Hardenburgh	Lieutenant & BQM	Nov. 21, 1776	BQM Jan^{y} 15, 1781
John Furman	Lieutenant	Sept. 1, 1778	
Ephram Snow	Lieutenant & Recruiting Off.	March 26, 1779	
Peter Magee	Lieutenant	May 29, 1779	
Henry Swartwout	Lieutenant	Feb^{y} 28, 1780	
Josiah Bagley	Lieutenant	March 1, 1780	
Samuel Lewis	Lieutenant	March 1, 1780	
Henry Van Woert QM	Lieutenant	Sept. 29, 1780	June 28th 1775
Jacob H. Wendell Adj.	Lieutenant	Sept. 29, 1780	Jan^{y}. 15, 1781
Wilhelmus Ryckman	Ensign	Nov. 21, 1776	
Benjamin Gilbert	Ensign	Nov. 21, 1776	
Joseph Morrell	Ensign	Jan^{y}. 2, 1778	June 1st 1779
Jeremiah V^{n}Renselaer	Ensign & PM	May 28, 1778	Nov. 21, 1776
Benjamin Herring	Ensign	May 28, 1778	
Gerret Lansing	Ensign	Feb^{y}. 6, 1779	
Douw Fonda	Ensign	May 29, 1779	
John Marsh	Ensign	Sept. 29, 1780	
Alexander Clinton	Ensign	Sept. 29, 1780	
Caleb Sweet	Surgeon		
John Elliot Jun^{r}	Mate		

While some of the officers of the Third New York left the service, many remained to serve in the re-arranged Regiment. Some had seen service in the First New York in the early days of the war. Captain Aaron Aorson had been appointed a first lieutenant in Captain Cheesman's Company of the Regiment on June 28, 1775 and succeeded to the command of the company upon the death of Captain Cheesman at Quebec. Now, in the rearrangement, he returns once again to command a company of the First New York. Captain George Sytez, formerly adjutant of the Third, now commands a company in the First. Captain Henry Tiebout had been a second lieutenant in Captain Johnson's Company of the First New York in February 1776. Captain Leonard Bleeker had served as second lieutenant in Captain Willett's Company of the First New York in 1775. He was assigned command of the Light Infantry Company of the First New York and went on to be brigade major under General Lafayette. During the time that Colonel Van Schaick was arranging the list of officers, Lieutenant John Furman was a prisoner in New York. He was subsequently released and, after a short furlough, joined the Regiment. Ensign Jeremiah Van Rensselaer had been paymaster in the Third New York and was appointed to that position in the First New York.

Unique among the officers of the Regiment, Captain James Gregg had lived through a horrifying experience which most men usually did not survive. During the Third New York's tour of duty at Fort Schuyler, on the morning of June 25, 1777, ''just after breakfast'', Captain Gregg left the Fort with Corporal Samuel Madison of his Company.[10] Although numerous warnings and orders had been issued against straying into the woods, Gregg and Madison were undaunted. Into the woods they went and proceeded to shoot pigeons. Their movements had been watched and ''. . . about ten o'clock . . .'', when they were ''. . . about one mile and a half from the fort . . .'', Indians fell upon them, shot them down, ''tomahawked and scalped them, and left them for dead.''[11] After some time, Gregg revived. Madison lay dead a few feet away. Captain Gregg's dog had accompanied the men into the woods. As a result of the animal's barking, two men who had been fishing in the river nearby were led to the expiring Captain. ''. . . Just after three o'clock . . .'', with assistance from the Garrison, Gregg, his head a mass of blood and his body hanging limp between two soldiers, was carried back to the Fort to have his wounds dressed by Dr. Hunloke Woodruff, regimental surgeon. Soon afterwards, he was removed to the hospital at Albany and placed under the care of Dr. James Thacher. Dr. Thacher described Captain Gregg's condition as he arrived at the hospital. ''He was a most frightful spectacle, the whole of his scalp was removed; in two places on the fore part of his head, the tomahawk had penetrated through the skull; there was a wound on his back with the same instrument, besides a wound in his side and another through his arm by a musket-ball. This unfortunate man, after suffering extremely for a long time, finally recovered, and appeared to be well satisfied in having his scalp restored to him, though uncovered with hair."[12] Dr. Thacher's description of the practice gives some feeling for what the Captain experienced. "The Indian Mode of scalping their victims is this—with a knife they make a circular cut from the forehead, quite round, just above the ears, then taking hold of the skin with their teeth, they tear off the whole hairy scalp in an instant, with wonderful dexterity."[13] As might be expected, Captain Gregg's experience received more than passing attention, particularly in Albany. Colonel Gansevoort's brother remarked to him at the time that "I . . . exceedingly lament the Catastrophe of Capt Gregg and the other unhappy man. . . ."[14]

Several of the officers of the consolidated Regiment came from neither of the preceeding units. Ensign Joseph Morrell had been an officer in Lt. Colonel Weissenfel's Fourth New York. On January seventeenth, he had not yet come from Fort Schuyler to join the Regiment. Lieutenant Henry Swartwout had been appointed from the Fifth New York and on January seventeenth, having recently "returned from Captivity", had "not yet joined" the regiment.[15]

Ensign Alexander Clinton was the son of Brigadier General James Clinton. An appropriate appointment had been sought for young Clinton, then fifteen years old, and his assignment in the First New York proved agreeable. In January, when the rostra of officers was being developed, he was on leave of absence in Albany. Following a sickness during which he was confined to quarters, in April, Ensign Clinton was reported as being "on Duty."[16] There had been some questions as to whether Ensign Clinton would be assigned to the artillery and his father had remarked to the Governor that, "Alexander is arranged in the First Regiment but if you think it best to have him appointed in the Train, I shall be happy to have it done."[17] Ultimately, Ensign Clinton transferred to the Artillery where he received a Second Lieutenant's Commission in Colonel John Lamb's Company on June 29, 1781.[18]

The final arrangement of officers was not without further problems, alterations and additional resignations. On April Fifth, Captain John H. Wendell resigned. The Colonel had been aware of Captain Wendell's intentions for several weeks, and while he gave the necessary permission and certifications, he was disappointed to lose a good officer. Captain Wendell had been one of those officers who had served with Colonel Van Schaick since the Colonel took command of the First New York. The reason for Captain Wendell's resignation is not entirely clear. However, the appointment in the Regiment of a number of captains with commissions of prior date and the fact that the possibility of a promotion to major had become extremely remote undoubtedly had some effect on his decision. At the time of the Captain's resignation, Colonel Van Schaick had certified that, "Capt John H. Wendell of my Regiment Is not to the best of Knowledge Indebted to the Publick But on the Contrary Has a Considerable Sum of money Due to him."[19] Captain Wendell's military service continued in the Albany County Militia where he commanded a regiment with the rank of lieutenant colonel. A lawyer by profession and elder brother of the newly appointed adjutant, Jacob H. Wendell, the Captain lived to be eighty years of age and one of the oldest surviving officers of the Regiment.

On the same day, April fifth, having received the necessary approvals, Lieutenant Nathaniel Henry tendered his resignation. He had served in several companies in the Regiment, was wounded in 1777 and was considered to be one of the stronger, better officers of the Regiment. The Colonel had been aware of Lieutenant Henry's intentions since February, and although he considered it to be "improper at this time" he did not voice an objection.[20] Lieutenant Henry's military service was not concluded, however, as he was appointed a supernumerary officer in a Regiment of Levies under Lt. Colonel Marinus Willett.

On April twenty-third, Colonel Van Schaick certified that "Lieut. Peter B. Tears of the first New York Regm^t Has Obtained My Liberty to Resign his Commission."[21] Lieutenant Tearse's resignation was submitted that same day. Tearse had been adjutant of the Regiment and had served under Colonel Van Schaick in the old Second New York. He accepted a captain's commission in the Levies under Marinus Willett where his reputation for "Faithful service" was continued.

As a result of the resignation of Captain Wendell, Lieutenant John C. Ten Broeck was promoted to captain and given command of the company formerly commanded by Wendell. This left three vacancies for the rank of lieutenant.

Colonel Van Schaick was subject to pressure from various quarters in connection with his recommendations and selections for candidates to fill these and other vacancies in the officer ranks. One aspirant to the rank of lieutenant in the First New York was Lieutenant Solomon Pendelton, who had "made application" for the appointment "agreeable to a Resolve of Congress."[22] Pendelton had seen service in the militia and the Fifth New York Regiment. He had been taken prisoner in October 1777 and it was generally held that "his conduct while in captivity was not squared by that rule of propriety which ought to entitle him to be readmitted."[23] Colonel Van Schaick wrote to the Council of Appointment:

> "I am constrained by my duty to communicate to your honourable board the present discontent in my Regiment with the subaltern officers on a Report of the appointment of Lieutenant Pendleton & others being made to fill the vacancies of Lieut Henry and Tierce resigned and Lieut. Ten Broeck promoted. Which if it should be the case I have reason to apprehend will be productive of the resignations of almost the whole of the subalterns in the Regiment. They have their objections (in my opinion) on a just foundation, that is if Mr. Pendleton or any other is not arranged the injustice (if any) is done to them by the Corps in which they served and, therefore, they ought to be subjected to the inconveniency; and that no rank of Theirs can be with Justice intruded into the First and late Third New York Regiment, which if their should be the case the president will always debar them in futer as well as at present of their just promotion."[24]

General Clinton wrote to the Governor: "I hope Pendleton . . . may not be appointed in the First N.Y. Regiment, as I fear it wou'd be attended with the Resignation of Several good Officers. . . ."[25] Pendleton was not appointed an officer in the First New York.

While in most cases, Colonel Van Schaick's recommendations were approved, some influential people seemed to have their favorites for whom they sought appointments. As late as June, some confusion still persisted, and the final alignment of officers was still not settled. It had been suggested that several deserving Sergeants from the First New York be promoted to fill vacancies which had come about in the rank of ensign. Sergeant Robert Wilson, fifer in Captain Gregg's Company, was one of those mentioned for promotion. Wilson, a nephew of Captain Gregg's, had enlisted for the war on January 29, 1777 and was promoted to sergeant in November of 1780. General Clinton had written to the Governor that, "Among these Vacancies I hope Sergeant Robt. Wilson may not be omitted; I have spoken to Col. Van Schaick on the subject of his appointment who is perfectly anxious to have him provided for in his Reg't. It is needless to say more on the subject—you know him & I am confident you are disposed to serve him as far as is consistent with your Duty."[26] Accordingly, Wilson was promoted to the rank of ensign on June twenty-ninth.

In some instances, through error or confusion, the position promised to one individual was filled by another. The prime example of this was the case of Ensign Gerret Lansing. It had been said that "several young Gentlemen who were sergeants & raised to Ensigncies have thro some mistake taken the Rank of Ensign Lensingh."[27] It had also been held that Ensign Joseph Morrell had "superceded" Ensign Lansing.[28] The events that precipitated this situation are unknown. However, Ensign Lansing ultimately received his appointment and served in Captain Tiebout's Company.

The unsettled circumstances in a number of the officers' positions made for some additional difficulties. Customarily, before a signed commission could be obtained for an officer, a warrant authorizing his status was issued, usually signed by the Governor of the state. However, even warrants for the officers of the First New York were late in coming; partially due to the many changes in their ranks. This was particularly distressing at this time because a distribution of clothing was to be made to the officers. Without at least a warrant, no clothes could be obtained. It was mid-July before some of the warrants were signed by the Governor "in order that the Distribution of the Cloaths may be made accordingly."[29] Ensign Alexander Clinton was in a particular dilemma. Here it was the middle of July and he had transferred to the artillery but had not yet joined his unit. As his father said, "I should be glad to know if Alexander is to receive his Proportion of Cloaths from the First Reg't or from the Reg't of Artillery; unless this is speedily ascertained he will be neglected by both."[30] Referring to his nephew, the Governor replied: "I understood that the gentleman lately appointed who had not yet joined would not be considered as entitled to a share; but as Alex'r has not yet joined the Artillery I take it for granted he must get his proportion in the Reg't to which he belonged, & in which he done duty at the time."[31]

Early 1781 saw the Regiment in a somewhat similar situation as that which existed during most of 1777. Four years ago, the First New York had been fragmented with detachments at several different posts. Now, in January 1781, four Companies of the Regiment, Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry company together with Captain Aorson's, Captain Tiebout's and Captain Sytez's Companies, were at Saratoga under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck.[32] Captain Jansen's Company was stationed at Fort Edward.[33] Surgeon's Mate John Elliot was with Lt. Colonel Van Dyck at Saratoga. The remaining companies of the Regiment were in garrison at Albany.

On January seventeenth, the First New York totaled approximately five hundred nine Officers and men. Some forty-three men were absent from the Regiment: ten sick in the hospital at Albany; seven "On Command" as waiters to various officers; nine "On Command" as articifers at Albany; some "On Command" as General Schuyler's guard particularly from Captain Hick's Company; some were on furlough; a few wagoners and one cooper. Recruiting efforts under Lieutenant Ephram Snow were moving ahead to fill the one hundred six rank and file vacancies to bring the Regiment up to full strength. Since the first of January, twelve recruits plus "three Drum and Fifes" had joined the Regiment.[34] As time went on, most of the companies were mustered to between fifty-seven and sixty-two men. Captain Gregg's Company, however, totaled over seventy men and there were a number of transfers from his company into Captain Aorson's Company. The rostra of Captain Hick's Company showed just under seventy men.

None of the New York Regiments had ever had sufficient clothing. Some items were more difficult to acquire than others but nothing was every easy to obtain. The following list of the items of clothing, delivered to the Regiment in January, was some indication that, perhaps, things were improving.[35]

Coats	124
Vests	572
Woolen Overalls	572
Shirts	572
Hose	468
Shoes	1,072
Socks	572
Blankets	572
Hatts	286
Mitts	64
Woolen Caps	64
Watchcoats	13

At the end of last year, referring to Colonel Van Schaick, Washington had advised General Clinton that "as the importance of Fort Schuyler requires an Officer of Rank, you will be pleased to direct the Colonel to repair to that post. . . ."[36] The course of events was such, however, that Colonel Van Schaick never did go to Fort Schuyler. He remained in Albany until the latter part of February.

On February sixteenth, General Clinton was instructed to "march to West Point as speedily as possible six companies of Col Van Scaiks regiment of which the light company to be one."[37] The Colonel left Albany with the companies going south; bound for West Point. From "Fish Kills," on March second, he advised General Heath that "I have this evening arrived at this place with four companies of my Regiment . . . I shall be under the necessity of remaining here tomorrow to refresh the troops—Shall be happy to receive your direction what place I am to March to."[38] With Colonel Van Schaick at Fish Kill were Captain Hicks', Captain Gregg's, Captain Tiebout's and Captain Wendell's companies; under the immediate command of Major Graham.

On March fourth, garrison orders at West Point indicated that "Colonel Van Schaick's Regiment are to occupy part of the Hutts, built last fall by the New York Brigade, and are until further orders, to be attached to the 2nd Massachusetts Brigade."[39] Before the companies of the First New York could take up quarters in the "Hutts built last fall by the New York Brigade", located in the woods immediately to the north of Redoubt Number Three, orders were changed. On March fifth "It being thought more convenient to Quarter Colonel Van Schaick's Regiment at the point, than at the Hutts, the companies that are arrived, are to be in the barracks in fort Clinton, they are to be attached to the 3rd Massachusetts Brigade."[40]

The construction of Fort Clinton at West Point had been started in January 1778 at the northeast corner of the plain. The site commanded an extremely advantageous view of the river, particularly to the northward. "The Cliff on which Fort Clinton was erected rises one hundred and eighty feet above the river, and is more elevated than the plain in the rear."[41] Even though it was the principal fortification at West Point, Fort Clinton was constructed chiefly of logs and earth and was completed before May of the same year. Within the walls, it encompassed an area of some six hundred yards. The embankments were twenty-one feet at the base and fourteen feet high. Barracks and huts were built to accommodate about six hundred men.

The First New York settled into quarters in the barracks at Fort Clinton. Again, as always, each unit was assigned a particular position and task in case of emergency. "In case of alarm, Col. Vanschaicks Regiment is to be considered as a reserve, & are in the first instance to March & take part on the ridge, on which number three is erected and to the north of that redoubt, from whence parties are to be sent, to act as occasion may require, or as they may receive further orders."[42]

Baron von Steuben set forth strict instructions as to the duties of the garrison and "no ommissions or deviations are to be allowed."[43] Garrison duty at West Point, however, was not vastly different from garrison duty at any other similar post. The barracks master and officers were instructed to see that the men did not damage the "barracks, bunks, platforms . . . or any other public property."[44] Recruits were not to be assigned to "duty with Arms until they are properly drilled" after which they were to be "immediately Arm'd . . . and furnished with Ammunition."[45] Orders reading, "All the troops are to be served with on Gill of Rum each this day,"[46] were always well-received by the men. Contingents and work parties from the Regiment were sent out to the environs of West Point, the Clove or the countryside of the surrounding area. The orders of March twelfth were typical: "One hundred Rank and File properly officer'd from Col. Van Schaicks Regiment and 50 rank and file from the Brigade commanded by Col. Greene to be ready to march early tomorrow morning, with two days provisions. Major Graham to command the detachment, he will call at Headquarters for orders."[47]

One example of the kind of projects undertaken was the erection of a blockhouse in the Clove by "a fatigue party consisting of One Sub one Serj^{t} & twenty Rank & file."[48] Located in the Ramapo Pass, on the road north from Suffern, the blockhouse became known as Sidman's Fort and was described as "large and strong, 2 stories high, built in a square Form, about 36 feet, and surrounded by an Abbatis. The Chimney affords one large Fire Place below and two very small ones above. . . . There is one small house and a little Hut about 50 yards each nearer than Mr. Suffran's 2 miles in the Rear and Mrs. Sidman's nearly one mile advanced."[49]

Duty at West Point did not eliminate the possibility of capture as Patrick O'Donahy, private in Captain Hick's Company, learned on March thirty-first when he was taken prisoner by the enemy.

During the First New York's stay at West Point, the officers of the Regiment did their share of the duty and assignments. Colonel Van Schaick served as field officer of the day about once a week. Major Graham served as president of a general court martial on April fifteenth.

When Colonel Van Schaick left Albany in February with four Companies of the Regiment, both Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company and Captain Parson's Company had been delayed. By April twenty-eighth, however, the Light Infantry Company joined the other companies of the Regiment at West Point.[50] By May second, Captain Parson's Company arrived to make the six companies requested by General Washington.[51]

When the quarters of the First New York were changed from "Hutts" to the barracks at Fort Clinton, the Regiment was attached to the 3rd Massachusetts Brigade instead of the 2nd Massachusetts Brigade. Commanding officers of the Regiments of the 3rd Brigade being Lieutenant Colonels, Colonel Van Schaick was the senior and ranking officer. He was, therefore, placed in command of the 3rd Massachusetts Brigade. Muster rolls of the officers of the First New York indicate Colonel Van Schaick as "Commanding 3d Mass^{ts} Brigade."[52] In addition, several muster rolls of companies of the First New York bear Colonel Van Schaick's signature indicating his status as Commandant of the 3rd Massachusetts Brigade. One example is that of Captain Wendell's Company: "Sworn before me in Garrison West Point May 7th 1781—G. V. Schaick—Command^{t} 3th Massts Brigd."[53] As long as the First New York was attached to the 3rd Massachusetts Brigade, because of his position of command, Colonel Van Schaick necessarily became involved in some of the day to day affairs of that Brigade. In one instance, John Walker, "a Continental Soldier belonging to the Massachusetts Line," had been apprehended as a suspicious individual by the Albany Committee. Upon Walker's statement that "he had deserted from West Point", the Committee resolved that, "the said John Walker be delivered over to Coll. Van Schaick."[54]

By far, the most pressing consideration facing the Regiment, both the companies at West Point and the companies at Saratoga and Fort

Edward was the matter of pay. For a long time, pay had been in arrears and it appeared that little or no effort was made to remedy the situation. Washington had never been overly sympathetic to the lateness or lack of pay and, at one point, had expressed the opinion that, "all the common soldiery of any country can expect, is food and cloathing."[55] Washington's opinion did not ameliorate the situation. The fact that some of the men in a few of the companies of the Regiment received some pay in the latter part of last year, did not alter the overall circumstances to any extent. Desertions were becoming more frequent. Colonel Van Schaick was concerned and discussed the matter with General Heath. The General, sharing some of Colonel Van Schaick's anxiety, agreed to bring the situation to the attention of the Commander-in-Chief in an effort to gain some relief. His letter to General Washington painted a vivid picture of the needs of the Regiment and conveyed a sense of urgency.

> "The distressed condition of the New York Regt. under the Command of Colo. Van Schaick on account of their great arrears of pay / sixteen months / and the unecessary consequence there on, is increased by the Consideration that the Troops of the other States have lately received money while they get none—their officers much preplexed and embarrassed and know not what to say as to, I promised Their Colonel yesterday that I would represent their case to your Excellency, which I beg leave now to do—If a few months pay can be procured for them either from Congress or their own State it will relieve their distress and thereby promote the public Service, without it there is every reason to fear that desertions will take place indeed five or six have lately deserted from the Line, probably are gone to the Enemy, which has obliged me to remove those troops entirely from the army."[56]

Usually the lack of pay was not remedied quickly. The present state of affairs was no exception. Before any pay could be obtained for the Regiment, orders were received indicating "that part of Colonel Van Schaick's regiment stationed at West Point is to be held in readiness to move on the shortest notice; all detachment, or men on other duty from it are to be immediately relieved and called in."[57]

The news from the north was not good. Fort Schuyler had been ruined by fire and heavy rains; plans to evacuate were already underway. Colonel Van Cortlandt's Second New York was to assist in the evacuation. General Schuyler presented an alarming assessment of the situation at Saratoga. He anticipated "the greater part of the British force in Canada, to come down."[58] Captain Aorson's, Captain Sytez's and Captain Jansen's Companies of the First New York made up the force of approximately "150 Continental troops here" which were the bulk of any defence against whatever the British might do. The situation with Vermont was being aggravated by the attempts of some to "seduce" inhabitants on the east side of the Hudson River from their "allegiance to the state."[59]

In response to the disheartening series of events and the prevailing circumstances and referring to the First New York, General Clinton had written to the Governor. ". . . I would wish to have the other six Companies of the Brigade which are at West Point, if I could see any prospect of supplying them with provisions, as I am confident that even they, will not be adequate."[60]

While Washington was generally in agreement with General Schuyler that "There is little doubt but the enemy are preparing to cross the Lake with as much force as they can spare",[61] he was aware of the many other considerations and expressed his unwillingness to have any troops removed from West Point "unless there is a real necessity for it. And indeed it would be useless to send them, unless there is also a probability of their being supplied with provisions."[62] On May twenty-eighth however, he advised General Clinton that, "The Six Companies of Col Van Schaick's Regiment, now at West Point, are put under marching Orders, that if occasion should require they might be transported to Albany immediately."[63] During the next several days, one order followed another in swift succession.

On Friday, June first "The six companies of Colonel Van Schaick's regiment at West Point to be ready to move as soon as the Quarter master General has provided Vessels."[64] The quarter master of the First New York, Lieutenant Henry Van Woert, was instructed "to apply to the Quarter master general to know when the vessels will be ready and at what place."[65]

On the same day, Quarter Master General Pickering received instructions from General Washington's headquarters. "You will be pleased immediately to give orders to have vessels prepared for the transportation of the six Companies of Col. Van Schaicks Regt. and Col. Hazens Regt to Albany—Col. Van Schaicks will embark first—His Quartermaster will wait upon you to know when the vessels will be ready."[66]

On Tuesday, June fifth, Washington advised General Clinton that, "The Six Companies of Van Schaicks Regt. have since sailed. . . ."[67]

Once again either fear of attack from Canada or the ravages of the enemy in the Mohawk Valley had been the occasion for the First New York to be sent back to Albany. Washington complied with General Clinton's request reluctantly. He was uncomfortable with the arrangement. Much to his dislike, so many times the Commander-in-Chief had seen regiments including the First New York fragmented and broken up into small contingents in an effort to cover a number of posts. Recognizing that there were important considerations other than those in the Northern Department, Washington was very specific in his instructions to General Clinton as to the disposition of the six companies of the First New York and the troops coming north from West Point.

> "It is clearly my opinion, that the reinforcements lately ordered to the Northward should be kept together, as much as circumstances will admit, or at least so near as to be speedily assembled upon an emergency. As it is not certain, or probable they will be continued permanently in that quarter; and as they are designed while there, to strike the Enemy, should they be so presumptuous as to attempt to penetrate into the Country. It also appears to me that the force on the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers ought not to be so widely scattered as formerly, but stationed in as compact a manner as may be, except such Light Parties, as occasion may require to be kept out. By distributing the Troops, with a view, of protecting every inch of ground, the efficient force is dissipated and lost, and the several Posts are so weakened as to invite the Enemy to enterprize. I wish you therefore to concentrate your strength as much as possible at the Points you may judge most expedient; to form a plan of defence for the frontier; and to transmit to me the result of your determination."[68]

Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck and the two companies at Saratoga, plus Captain Jansen's Company at Fort Edward, were primarily engaged in providing protection for the Northern Frontier. From these garrisons, scouting parties were constantly being sent out to detect and be alert against the actions of the Tories and any movement of enemy troops. "Col^{o}. Van Dyck has already sent a party out towards Palmer Town"[69] was a typical response to reports of enemy activity in the area.

Under the provisions of "An Act for the Removal of the Families of Persons who have joined the Enemy", such families were directed to leave the state or to "remove to such parts of it as are in the Power of the Enemy."[70] In Albany, on May fifteenth, Thomas Orton and Gideon Orton appeared before the Board of Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies explaining that, "they had agreeable to the Resolutions of this Board been removed with their Families from Jessups Patent and that being hurried away they had been obliged to leave great Part of their Effects behind and requested Permission for themselves and the other persons whose Families were removed to go and fetch the Remainder of their Effects."[71] The Ortons' request was granted with the understanding that "in ten days they all of them appear before this Board." Thirteen days passed and no one appeared. Accordingly, the Board "wrote to Coll Cornelius Van Dyck requesting him forthwith to send down to us all the said Persons."[72] For Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, the foregoing was merely another part of the daily routine of the Command at Saratoga.

Recruiting efforts, of necessity, were constant. Enlistments of new men were one source. Drafts from the levies and militia provided some additional men. Few soldiers were discharged except when their times had expired, and even then every effort was made to persuade them to re-enlist. Disability was generally the only other reason for discharge. There were always exceptions and Gershom Van der Heyden, private in Captain Aorson's Company, was one of these instances. On June first, Van der Heyden was discharged; "having furnished 2 substitutes."[73]

John McNeil, from Stillwater, private in Captain Aorson's Company, was an example of how soldiers often moved from one unit to another. In November 1776, McNeil had enlisted in the Third New York for three years. Two years later, in December 1778, he was discharged "on account of disability." In June of 1781, he re-enlisted, this time in the eight month levies. In July, as a result of the recruiting efforts of the First New York, he was drafted from the levies into Captain Aorson's Company.[74]

What appeared to be an increase in the number of desertions was related by many to the lack of pay. Deserters often went to the New Hampshire grants where the ten pounds offered for their apprehension was little incentive. Some of the circumstances surrounding several cases of desertion seem to indicate the tenor of the time. Christian Smith, a soldier "in Coll Van Schaick's Regiment" had been apprehended "On suspicion." He advised the Board that he had "deserted about two months ago at Livingston's Manor" and had been advised "to go to New York and enlist in the Enemies Service."[75] Smith was "delivered over to Major John Graham" of the First New York. About the same time, David King was taken into custody "as a Person of Suspicious Character." Evidence indicating that "he is a Deserter from Coll Van Schaick's Regiment", he was also "delivered over the Major John Graham."[76] William Wederwax, from Lewiston in Columbia County, private in Captain Ten Broeck's Company (formerly Captain Wendell's Company), had enlisted on June 15, 1777 for the war. In April 1780, he deserted with the notation that he had "left on account of ill health."[77] Now, in May 1781, he is "apprehended & confined on Suspicion of his being concerned with the Robberies lately committed at Claverack and it appearing that the Suspicion was ill founded and he being a Continental Soldier belonging to Coll. Van Schaick's Reg^{t} . . . be delivered over to Major Graham."[78] Being assigned to the custody of Major Graham usually meant a court martial at either Albany or West Point. William King, private in Captain Gregg's Company, had enisted for the term of the war in October 1776. He deserted in October 1780. As a result of the increased efforts to apprehend deserters, he was re-taken on April 18, 1781. Subsequently tried by a court martial at West Point for "Desertion", he was found guilty and "sentenced to suffer Death."[79]

On Tuesday night, May twenty-second, Solomon Meeker, private in Captain Jansen's Company, was brought into Albany a prisoner "in irons and close confined."[80] Secured in the Albany "Goal", Meeker was an example of what was becoming all too commonplace.

Deserters were not the only prisoners turned over to Major Graham. On one occasion, the Major was requested to take John Tice "when he goes down with the Prisoners of War to West Point . . . from thence send him by the first Party that goes to Philadelphia to his Family and caution him not again to be Seen in this State during the present Contest."[81]

Not everyone brought before the Board of the Albany Committee for Detecting Conspiracies was found to be "suspicious", a criminal, abroad unlawfully or in some way unfriendly to the American cause. Stephen Fairchilds, a farmer from Charlotte County, had been taken into custody and forwarded to Albany by Captain Cornelius Jansen. An affidavit of his neighbors saved him from incarceration. He was fined one hundred pounds and released.[82] John Carrigill, private in Captain Jansen's Company, had been apprehended, along with several others, and brought before the Board in Albany. Carrigill produced a "furlough from Capt. Jansen of Coll Van Schaick's Regiment" and was discharged.[83]

With the arrival at Albany of the six companies from West Point, the entire First New York was posted between Albany, Saratoga and Fort Edward. This disposition was to continue for about a month; when the entire Regiment would go south again. During the time the Regiment was in the Northern Department, however, it was to experience another "mutiny." General Washington had noted the mood of the troops of the entire New York line in February and had remarked that he was "led to expect the discontents among them, which were so happily suppressed will not revive again."[84]

By the end of June, the mounting discontent in the First New York regarding the pay situation was present throughout the entire Regiment. Since no pay had been received by the men, an "industriously propagated" rumor that "a Quantity of Specie had been brought up to pay them",[85] only made matters worse. The situation deteriorated rapidly. The festering discontent became aggravated by a liberal use of rum. As General Clinton said, "From Troops whose minds had been poinsoned by such Ideas as this, and whose heads were inflamed with liquor, the most dangerous Consequences were to be expected."[86] The men became unruly and insubordinate. A violent confrontation appeared inevitable. "Every lenient Method was tried but to no purpose."[87] Finally, during the first few days in July, General Clinton was forced to resort to "coercive measures and after a short conflict, in which two were dangerously wounded, and twelve of the principals confined, the rest were reduced to a kind of order."[88] Appropriate punishment was meted out to a "sufficient number" of the mutinous soldiers in order to provide an example for the rest of the Regiment. The following night, thirteen of the men deserted, including three sergeants. Having been informed that several of the deserters were still in the vicinity, General Clinton "promised a Pardon to all such as would return to their duty. . . ."[89] A number of the deserters did surrender and avail themselves of the General's offer of pardon. The remainder sought refuge in the grants. A small party was dispatched in pursuit of the deserters and as General Clinton explained to the Governor, "I . . . flatter myself they will be taken."[90]

General Washington had indicated to both General Schuyler and General Clinton that there was little likelihood of the First New York's remaining in Albany or the Northern Department for any length of time. Again, on June sixteenth, he advised General Clinton that in all probability, he would be compelled to withdraw the First New York from Albany.[91] Almost simultaneously with the occurrence of the "Mutiny", the Regiment received marching orders and on Friday, July sixth, the First New York "Imbarked for West Point."[92] The men were becoming familiar indeed with that stretch of the Hudson River between West Point and Albany.

As a result of some of the efforts to retake those soldiers of the Regiment who had deserted during the late "Mutiny", Edmund Burke, private in Captain Aorson's Company, was taken into custody shortly after the Regiment arrived at West Point. He faced a general court martial on July nineteenth; charged with "being concerned in the mutiny at Albany on the 6th ultimo."[93] He was found guilty and "Sentenced to suffer Death." General Washington approved the sentence. The First New York was to remain at West Point for approximately one month. On the day that the Commander-in-Chief instructed General McDougall to move the Regiment from West Point, he also expressed his desire that Burke be "executed before the Regiment leaves the point."[94] Timing was not entirely in accordance with Washington's wishes as Burke was executed on August twenty-fifth, two weeks after the Regiment had departed from West Point.

Two days after the trial of Burke, on July twenty-first, another general court martial, held at West Point, was to consider the case of Ensign Gerret Lansing of the First New York. The charge against Lansing was equally as serious as that of which Burke had been convicted. Lansing was accused first "with Desertion and joining the Enemy, secondly with changing his Name to John Johnston and reinlisting in the Massachusetts line."[95] The court found Ensign Lansing guilty and ordered him to be executed. Even before the proceedings or decision of the court were made public, there were those who did not agree with the charges against Lansing and sympathy for him was present in a number of quarters. Several "petitions in favor of Lansing" had been sent to Colonel Van Schaick. As the Colonel said, "If Lansing should be capitally convicted which from the attrociousness must be the case I am with him even without hope of accomplishing the wish of the Petitioners for which no pains shall be spared."[96] General Washington approved the sentence against Lansing. For whatever the reasons, however, the Commander-in-Chief was persuaded to "pardon" Ensign Lansing and indicated his pleasure at being able to "remit the Sentence against Lansing who is to be released from Confinement."[97]

From his headquarters at Dobbs Ferry, on July twenty-seventh, General Washington called for the Light Infantry Company of the First New York to leave West Point and "Join the Army."[98] Some officers of the Regiment were noticed with additional appointments. On August fifth, Ensign Douw Fonda was "appointed adjutant to the light Corps Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton."[99] On August thirteenth, Captain Leonard Bleeker was "appointed to do the duty of Inspector to the Light troops under the Command of Colonel Scammell."[100]

In concert with the Count de Rochambeau, Washington turned his attention to a move against New York. On August tenth, he advised General McDougall that the situation made "it necessary to add to our forces here" and requested that the First New York be sent "with their Camp Equipage as expeditiously as possible"[101] to Dobbs Ferry. Although it proved untrue, Colonel Van Schaick expressed the opinion held by many at the time. "It is currently reported that Sir Henry Clinton is gone to Europe and Lord Cornwallis has the command at New York. Our Army at Dobses Ferry—the Enemy on York Island very quiet."[102] Although the stay at Dobbs Ferry was to be no more than two weeks, for the men of the Regiment life went on pretty much as usual. Court martials were ever present. Corporal John Chace of Captain Tiebout's Company was tried for "Desertion and reinlisting in the Rhode Island Regiment." Chace was found guilty, reduced to "do the duty of a private Centinel and to receive one hundred Lashes on his naked back."[103] Fatigue duty never ceased. "A working party consisting of a Sub, two serjeants, two Corporals and Thirty privates from Van Schaick's regiment . . . will assemble . . . with their arms and one days Provisions tomorrow morning at eight o'clock; They will receive their Instructions from the Quarter Master General."[104]

The absence of a major engagement in the area did not mean that the men were not exposed to the dangers and fortunes of war. Frequent skirmishes and contact with the enemy often resulted in wounded soldiers. One example was Private Matthew Adams who was "severly wounded" during the Regiment's time at Dobbs Ferry. Adams had joined the First

New York from Captain Brown's Company of Artillery at Fort Schuyler in May of 1780. A tailor from Goshen in Orange County, New York, Adams was discharged from Captain Bleeker's Company of Light Infantry on January 3, 1783 as a result of his wound.[105]

In the early part of August, while the Regiment was still at West Point, an attempt was made to kidnap General Schuyler. The First New York had provided the men for Schuyler's guard since it was authorized and created in 1777 and continued to do so until the end of the war. Originally the guard had consisted of twenty-four men.[106] The number of men had varied from time to time; however, it had never exceeded twenty-six and was now down to nine men.[107] Some of those soldiers of the First New York assigned to Schuyler's guard had been wounded in the performance of their duty and were members of the Corps of Invalids. The guard had been established to protect Schuyler's person and family from marauding bands of Tories and Indians and from attempts by the British to kidnap or kill the General. Schuyler's family spent a great deal of time at their residence at Saratoga, and of course the guard was there with them. When in 1780, because of the renewed Indian and Tory depredations and the withdrawal of Continental Troops from the area, it became unwise to remain at Saratoga, Schuyler removed with his family to their home on the southern outskirts of Albany. Even here, close to the city, the General felt it was necessary that "My Gates and outward doors in the rear of my house were closed & secured at sunset. . . ."[108]

On the evening of August seventh, ". . . a certain Captain Myer . . . at the head of eighteen or twenty men . . ."[109] broke into the General's house. Before the soldiers could secure their muskets the intruders ". . . entered the kitchen and had proceeded into the back hall. . . ."[110] Here, in the hall, the enemy ". . . were met by the men who had gone for their arms. . . ."[111] General Schuyler later remarked that the soldiers had "made a gallant opposition, which afforded me time to get out of my front Hall and to gain my bed room where my arms were deposited." By this time, however, the enemy "had taken two of the men, wounded the third, and obliged the fourth to seek shelter together with the negroes in the cellar."[112] Following Schuyler's attempts to rouse the town, the marauders retired carrying off "two prisoners and some of my plate."[113] From the troops stationed at Albany, General Clinton sent a detachment to Schuyler's aid, but as they were more remote than the citizens, they did not arrive in time to find the enemy. For a short time, an additional guard was also left with General Schuyler in case of a second attack.

In the house with General Schuyler at the time of the attack were Private John Cockley of Captain Ten Broeck's Company and Private John Ward of Captain Parson's Company together with John Tubbs, who while not a member of the First New York was described as "an army courier" in the General's service. Cockley and Tubbs were made prisoners and carried off to Canada for the remainder of the war. Upon their return from captivity, General Schuyler rewarded Cockley, Tubbs and Ward for their gallant efforts on his behalf with two hundred seventy-five acres of land in the Saratoga patent.[114]

The last few days in June witnessed an action on the part of the Continental Congress which was to prove a bitter personal blow to Colonel Van Schaick. On June twenty-ninth, the Congress saw fit to promote Colonel Moses Hazen, an officer standing junior to Colonel Van Schaick, to the rank of brigadier General. In doing so, the Congress violated its own resolves of the previous May twenty-fifth setting forth the procedures for promotion to brigadier general. Their stipulations had been clear. "The promoting of battalion officers to the rank of brigadiers, be confined to the following districts, in each of which brigadiers, when necessary, shall be made from the senior officer of that district, without regard to any particular State: that New Hampshire and Massachusetts, be entitled to four brigadiers; Rhode Island and Connecticut, two brigadiers; New York and New Jersey, including Colonel Hazen's Regiment, two brigadiers . . . that whenever a brigadier shall be wanting for the troops of either of those districts, he shall be made from the senior battalion officer without regarding the State to which he belongs. . . ."[115] The Board of War, in its report on the matter of Colonel Hazen's promotion, pointed out to the Congress that "of the State of New York there are at present George and James Clinton Brigadiers. There is also in the Troops of New York Colonel Van Schaick whose commission is of an older date than Colonel Hazen's."[116] Indeed, in order to effect Hazen's promotion, the Congress had to contradict itself and ignore both the limitation on the number of brigadiers alloted to the district and the matter of seniority; where Colonel Van Schaick was admittedly senior to Colonel Hazen. Procedures and other considerations notwithstanding, Colonel Hazen was promoted.

Rumors of Hazen's promotion had been spread about even before it became a fact. In response to a query on the matter, General Washington had remarked that, "If the promotion of Col^{O} Hazen has taken place, Congress would seem to contradict their own Principles . . . Agreeable to these Principles, Col^{O} Van Schaick stood first in the Class. . . ."[117] Washington went on to say that he was at a loss to know "from what Motives or on what Principles such Event may have taken place."

As previously noted, this was not the first time Colonel Van Schaick had been bypassed. It was, however, the most distressing instance. In addition to all of the other contradictory circumstances, some aspects of Hazen's military career in the American service were not comparable to Colonel Van Schaick's exemplary record. As late as 1771, Hazen held a lieutenant's commission in the British army and was the object of some suspicion from both sides early in the War. Twice court-martialed, he proved an embarrassment to the Commander-in-Chief in his handling of prisoners. As Colonel of the "Canadian Regiment" his command was one of those "Independent Corps" which Washington had long been in favor of eliminating. Hazen's Regiment was one of the few remaining "Independents" to survive the several reorganizations of the army. In February, responding to a request that he create one of the "Independent Corps", Washington said that, "from long experience, I have almost invariably found Independent Corps to be such an imposition upon . . . the Public, that I cannot consent to give any countenance to the revival of them."[118] It must be said, however, that Hazen was regarded by the Board of War as "a very deserving officer" who had "always conducted himself with spirit, activity and attention."[119]

Colonel Van Schaick was noticeably upset. On August twenty-third, he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief:

> "My being Superceeded by Col^{o}. Hazen lays me under peculiar Embarrisments, and Confiding in the Justice of Congress. I beg Leve to be permitted to go to Philidelphia in order to lay my Case before Congress for that Justice which my Rank Intitels me too."[120]

Permission was granted and the Colonel left immediately for Philadelphia.

A short time before, at Dobbs Ferry, Colonel Van Schaick had discussed the matter with Governor Clinton. The Governor had agreed to write to the New York delegates at the Continental Congress instructing them to rectify the injustice to the Colonel.

> "Col^{o}. Van Schaick of this State, who as eldest Colonel in the Line of the Army, was entitled to & had every Reason to expect Promotion on the first New Appointment of a Brigadier, has the mortification to find himself superceded by a late Promotion of a Junior Officer in the same Division, contrary to a previous Resolution of Congress on that Subject. You will be better able to judge of the feelings of a good Officer in this Situation than I am able to describe them. He cannot submit to this degradation & continue in the Army & to retire from the service at this late Hour without any compensation would be peculiarly injurious & distressing. He is now on his Way to Congress to appeal to their Justice & Redress & has requested of me to ask what I am persuaded he would receive without any interposition of mine, your Countenance & Assistance."[121]

By August thirtieth, Colonel Van Schaick had arrived in Philadelphia and had addressed his "Memorial" or petition to the President of Congress. The Colonel's words are not only indicative of his feelings at the time but also suggest the background of some of his efforts to maintain the prominence and effectiveness of the First New York Regiment.

> "To the United States in Congress Assembled
>
> The Memorial of Goose Van Shack Sheweth—
>
> That your Memorialist was on the 28th of June 1775 appointed a Colonel of a Battalion raised in the State of New York for the Service of the United States, and has discharged his Duty with Zeal and Fidelity.
>
> That the pay of his Regiment being greatly in arrear he has at various Times advanced Money to quiet the Clamours of the Soldiers out of his own pocket which never has been reimbursed.
>
> That from the assiduity & attention of himself and his Officers his Regiment has generally been, and is now, one of the strongest in the American Army and upon the whole your Memorialist thinks it no presumption to say that as an Officer & a Patriot he is entitled to Regard . . .
>
> That your Memorialist nevertheless is so unhappy as to find himself superceaded in Rank by the late promotion of Col^{o}. Hazen . . .
>
> That he is the more aggrieved by the appointment as it is expressly repugnant to an Act of Congress of the 25th of May 1781 published in general Orders of the Army the 5th of June following.
>
> That your Memorialist feels the most painful Emotions on this occasion. Public opinion after so pointed a attempt calls him to resign his Commission: While a regard to his Countrys critical situation of the Campaign & Attention to his private circumstances renders such a Step most disagreeable.
>
> Your Memorialist therefore appeals to the Justice of the Hon'ble Congress and claims redress of this unmerited Injury.
>
> (signed) G V Schaick."[122]

On Friday, August thirty-first, Congress referred the memorial of Colonel Van Schaick to a "special Committee" for consideration. The deliberations of the Committee were quickly concluded and on September fourth, their report was read to the Congress.

> "The Committee to whom was referred the Letter of Col^{o} Van Schaick, Report, that Col^{o} Van Schaick receive the Brevet of Brigadier General to bear Date the ________ Day of ________________ last."[123]

The Committee's recommendation left the effective date of the proposed promotion to the pleasure of Congress. Indeed, it appeared that all of the efforts to secure a promotion for Colonel Van Schaick had finally succeeded. It was not to be the case. For reasons not disclosed, the Committee's recommendation was filed with those reports which were to be "Pass'd—not to be acted upon."[124] Any action on Colonel Van Schaick's request was postponed indefinitely. Needless to say, The Colonel was disappointed but his efforts to secure what was justly due him did not cease. He wrote to Governor Clinton requesting that the Governor use his influence with the New York State Legislature and enlist its intercession with the Continental Congress to secure his promotion to brigadier general. Governor Clinton was pleased to comply with the Colonel's request. Within a few days, the Governor's persuasions brought about a resolution from the Legislature requesting that the New York Delegates at the Continental Congress “be instructed to enquire into the reasons why Colº Van Schaick was Superceded in Office; and that should it appear on such enquiry to have been for Misconduct that the Delegates inform his Excellency the Governor thereof or otherwise that they earnestly request Congress to do Justice to the Military Rank and Character of Colº Van Schaick.”[125]

Governor Clinton had been actively in favor of Colonel Van Schaick's promotion for a long time and his ardor on behalf of the Colonel had not cooled. In advising him that his request had been “immediately laid before the Legislature” the Governor indicated to Colonel Van Schaick that, “you have the best Assurance of my Concurrence in any proper Measures for obtaining the Justice you claim.”[126]

On August nineteenth, Washington indicated that, “Circumstances have rendered it necessary to change our plan of operation, and I am going myself with a detachment of the army to the southward.”[127]

All contingents of the Regiment were ordered to Kings Ferry as part of the American and French force converging at that point.

As the march to Yorktown began, the strength of the Regiment was approximately six hundred men; exclusive of commissioned officers.[128] In spite of the fact that pay for the Regiment was still substantially in arrears, the spirit of the men seemed somewhat improved. One of the brighter aspects was the matter of clothing. More clothing had been delivered to the men in the first six months of 1781 than in the previous two years. In this respect, the Regiment, including commissioned officers who also received a distribution of clothing, was in better condition now than it had been in a long time. Between January fourth and June fifteenth, the following list of items was delivered to the First New York.[129]

Description	*Number*
Coats	457
Vests	685
Woolen Breeches and Overalls	917
Shirts	1022
Shoes	1879
Hose	856
Hats	298
Blankets	674
Socks	965
Woolen Mitts	64
Woolen Caps	64
Watch Coats	13
Linen Overalls	240
Drilling Breeches	53
Stable Jackets	30
Infantry Caps	30
Shoemakers Tools	2
Taylors Tools	1

Some of the items on the list are deserving of further comment. The four hundred fifty-seven “Coats” represented the largest number of regimental coats received by the First New York at any one time since the allotment from France in the fall of 1778. Since the uniform regulations of 1779 specified blue coats faced with buff for the New York line, in the absence of additional details, it can only be assumed that the coats received by the Regiment were of this description. While woolen breeches and overalls were not an innovation, heretofore these items had been primarily of linen or Russian drilling. The quantity of shirts and shoes was most certainly far beyond that previously provided at any one time. With winter not far off, blankets were always needed. Hats—the usual black felt cocked hat; woolen caps—sometimes a variety of colors but primarily blue and red; infantry caps—leather caps used by the Light Infantry Company.

On Monday, August twentieth, “the detachments from the American army reached Kings Ferry and began to cross.”[130] The strength of the American force was variously put at about twenty-five hundred men; under the command of Major General Benjamin Lincoln. By Tuesday noon, all of the American troops, baggage and artillery had crossed to the west side of the Hudson. The main body of the American Army encamped at Haverstraw,[131] “. . . the Light Infantry at Kakeat.”[132]

In order to prevent the true destiny of the Allied Army from becoming apparent to the British in New York, General Washington shrouded the entire operation in the utmost secrecy. At the outset, few Allied officers, save Rochambeau and the Commander-in-Chief himself, knew the plan. Dr. Thacher's remarks testify to the completeness of Washington's efforts. “The real object of the allied armies (in) the present campaign has become a subject of much speculation. Ostensibly, an investment of the city of New York is in contemplation. . . . Our situation reminds me of some theatrical exhibition, where curiosity is wrought to the highest point. Our destination has been for some time matter of perplexing doubt and uncertainty; bets have run high on one side that we were to occupy the ground marked out on the Jersey shore, to aid in the siege of New York, and on the other, that we are stealing a march on the enemy, and are actually destined to Virginia.”[133] It was not until August twenty-ninth that the true objective became clear.

Marching south from Kings Ferry in three columns, the Allied Army continued to give the impression that an attack on Staten Island was in the making. While the final contingent of the French army had not completed the crossing until the twenty-sixth, the American wing had started off "early on the 25th, separated into two columns." The First New York and the Light Infantry "marched from Kakeat by way of Paramus and Second River, and encamped on the 27th at Springfield."[134] The other American column "including the remaining troops, with artillery, baggage, and stores, marched by Pompton to Chatham. . . ."[135] The French column kept to the right, "passed through Suffrens and Pompton to Whippany."[136] On the twenty-eighth, the entire French and American force was encamped near Chatham, where the march was brought to a halt for one day. The Rhode Island Regiment joined the First New York and the Light Infantry to make up the left column.

At four o'clock the following morning, the march was resumed. The left column and the First New York headed for Brunswick, "The center to Boundbrook and the French through Morristown to Bullion's Tavern."[137]

On the thirtieth, all three columns headed for Princeton and on to Trenton where transports were to be waiting for them. Describing the movement of the army, Dr. James Thacher one of the surgeons accompanying the troops remarked, "We have now passed all the enemy's posts, and are pursuing our route with increased rapidity towards Philadelphia; wagons have been prepared to carry the soldier's packs, that they may press forward with greater facility."[138] The destination of the expedition was no longer a secret.

The Americans arrived at Trenton on the thirty-first. In spite of Washington's efforts, a sufficient number of boats to transport all of the troops down the Delaware were not available. The Second New York Regiment, with all of the batteaux and entrenching tools, Hazen's regiment and the artillery were loaded into the boats and proceeded by water. The remainder of the American regiments were to continue the march by land. The First New York was part of the force which crossed the Delaware on the morning of September first "and in the afternoon crossed a small river at Shammany's rope ferry. Our boats were pulled across with facility by a rope made fast at each shore."[139] Nineteen miles further the Americans "encamped at a place called Lower Dublin."[140] After marching an additional twelve miles, in the afternoon of the following day, September second, the First New York and the other units of the American army marched through the city of Philadelphia.

"The streets being extremely dirty, and the weather warm and dry, we raised a dust like a smothering snow-storm, blinding our eyes and covering our bodies with it." Continuing, Dr. Thacher indicated that, "this was not a little mortifying, as the ladies were viewing us from the open windows of every house as we passed through . . . Our line of march, including appendages and attendants, extended nearly two miles. The general officers and their aids, in rich military uniform, mounted on noble steeds elegantly caparisoned, were followed by their servants and baggage. In the rear of every brigade were several field-pieces, accompanied by ammunition carriages. The soldiers marched in slow and solemn step, regulated by the drum and fife. In the rear followed a great number of wagons, loaded with tents, provisions and other baggage, such as a few soldiers' wives and children; though a very small number of these are allowed to encumber us on this occasion."[141]

The following day, the French army created much more of a sensation in the city than did the warworn Continental veterans. Resplendant in their white uniforms faced with various colors and accompanied by a complete band of music, every eye was upon the French soldiers. Indeed, they were the center of attention.

The Continental regiments moved on, halting for only part of one day "to give the men time to rest and wash their clothes."[142] On the fourth, the troops moved through Chester, Brandywine and Wilmington—about twenty miles. After an eight mile march on the fifth, one day's provision was received and cooked by the soldiers. Ten additional miles on September sixth saw the First New York and the American army at the Head of Elk, a short distance from the Chesapeake.

The men were fatigued from the long march. They had been on the road for fifteen days. The pay situation in the First New York had not been solved. Considerable arrearages still existed. Pay was long overdue in the other regiments as well. Needless to say, there was grumbling and discontent among the soldiers. Many were characterized by a sort of sullen determination. The relative opulence and air of well-being of Philadelphia and some of the other areas through which the troops passed made their own lack of pay seem an unnecessary and heavy burden. Even the Continental officers complained that, "We are serving with the French Army, where the officers dine in luxury and give us invitations to their tables, we cannot go to them, because we cannot return the compliment."[143] Washington had written to Robert Morris with instructions "to procure one month's pay in specie" for the soldiers and indicated that "part of these troops have not been paid anything for a long time past, and have on several occasions shown marks of great discontent. The service they are going upon is disagreeable to the northern regiments; but I make no doubt that a doucer of a little hard money would put them in proper temper."[144]

The Commander-in-Chief, announcing the "arrival of Count DeGrasse in the Chesapeak with a very favourable Naval and Land force", called upon "the gentlemen officers, the brave and faithfull soldiers he has the honour to command, to exert their utmost abilities in the cause of their Country, to share with him, with their usual alacrity, the difficulties, dangers, and glory of the enterprise."[145]

The soldiers were more interested, however, in the fact that a payroll was to be prepared immediately by each regiment for one month's pay for all of the men except those who had been so "lost to all sense of honour, the pride of their profession and the love of their Country as to desert the Standard of Freedom at this critical period."[146] The payrolls were prepared and the silver arrived. Morris had obtained the money on loan from Rochambeau. "The troops were mustered and the heads of the money kegs were knocked open, so that the men could see the silver half crowns roll upon the ground."[147] The coins were quickly distributed and morale was vastly improved. One of the Continental officers remarked that "This day will be famous in the annals of History for being the first in which the Troops of the United States received one month's Pay in specie."[148]

The men lay at Head of Elk for several days. Preparations were underway to transport the troops by water. Some of the units did take to the boats but the approximately "eighty vessels" were still not enough. Dr. Thacher described the condition of the boat in which he, four other officers and sixty men started out in as being "so deeply laden with cannon, mortars and other ordinance, that our situation will be attended with considerable danger, if rough weather should overtake us."[149] The First New York was among those units which marched on to Baltimore and Annapolis, where additional boats sent up by Admiral DeGrasse were ready to take the men and equipment down the Chesapeake. Some of the others who had embarked from Head of Elk a few days before had been driven into Annapolis by storms. Nevertheless, all the boats had left Annapolis by the eighteenth.[150] By the twenty-sixth, all of the troops had landed and the entire Allied army was drawn up in front of Williamsburgh. The following day, Washington issued the order to march the few remaining miles to Yorktown. "The rolls are to be Called with the Greatest exactness at retreat beating this evening and again at taptoo in presence of the field officers, at which time no Officer or soldier (in Condition to March) is to be absent from his post on any account . . . The whole army will march by the right in one Column at five O'Clock tomorrow Morning precisely . . . Officers Will Confine themselves in point of Baggage to such things as are Immediately Necessary . . . If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the Gen^{l} particularly Enjoins the troops to place their principle reliance on the Bayonet. . . ."[151] The enemy offered no resistance and the eleven mile march brought the Americans and French to within two miles of the British lines. By the evening of the twenty-eighth, the troops had reached their designated positions and "lay on their arms this night."[152] Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was one of the field officers posted for duty the following day.[153]

Next morning, General Washington "moved the American Troops more to the right and encamped on the East side of Bever dam Creek, with a morass in front, about cannon shot from the enemy's lines. . . ."[154] Beaverdam Creek became the dividing line of the Allied army: the Americans on the right; the French on the left; the French artillery and the quarters of both Washington and Rochambeau in the center. Each brigade in the first line of the right wing was instructed to "through up a small work in its front for the security of the Camp Guard."[155] Cornwallis now found himself with his back to the river and the American and French armies in a semi-circle surrounding Yorktown by land.

The First New York and the Second New York made up General James Clinton's Brigade which in turn was part of Major General Benjamin Lincoln's division. Brigade Major was Captain Aaron Aorson of the First New York. Colonel Van Schaick was still in Philadelphia and the commanding officer of the Regiment was Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck.

The Light Infantry Company of the First New York was one of the four companies under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton and formed part of the Second Brigade of Light Infantry commanded by Brigadier General Moses Hazen. Brigade major was Captain Leonard Bleeker of the First New York.

The morning of September thirtieth was greeted with surprise and pleasure by the Allied troops. During the night, the British had abandoned their outer works and retired, with their guns, to the defences within the town. "Our light infantry and a party of French were ordered to advance and take possession of the abandoned ground and to serve as a covering party to our troops who are employed in throwing up breastworks."[156] A considerable cannonade from the enemy drew no answer from the Americans who were busy enclosing the abandoned positions.

During the first week in October, the Americans and French addressed themselves to preparations for the siege. Washington was most anxious "that the heavy Artillery should be brought without a moments loss of time."[157] Stores and equipment needed to be moved into the line. The few wagons and teams were overburdened. "The Commander in Chief haveing ordered his own Baggage Waggons to be sent to assist in the transportation of ordinance and stores requests that all the waggons of the Gen^{l} Field and other Officers may be imployed on the same business."[158]

At this juncture, the health and morale of the troops was also of prime concern to Washington. Having either impaired to any extent could well have an adverse effect on the outcome of the impending contest. The men were to be furnished with straw, good bread and one gill of rum daily. Orders of the twenty-ninth suggested the seriousness of some of the considerations. "Our ungenerous enemy haveing as Usual propagated the small pox in this part of the Country the Commander in Chief forbids officers and soldiers of this army haveing any Connection with the houses or Inhabitants in this Neighbourhood or removeing any Utential from them."[159] Regimental commanders were instructed to prevent their men from straggling out of camp lest they return infected. Dr. Thacher described an additional threat along the same line. "The British have sent from Yorktown a large number of negroes, sick with the small-pox, probably for the purpose of communicating the infection to our army."[160]

In some instances, the health of the troops had a direct relation to the discipline maintained insofar as the sanitation of the camp was concerned. Recognition that "the Gen^{l} is surprised to find a Quantity of Offals and Other Naucious Matter at different slaughter yards about Camp remaining unburried . . . also a number of dead horses and other putrid bodies about Camp",[161] brought the threat of arrest for any "Commissary" who permitted this condition to exist.

Fence or rail burning was a practice indulged in by all of the troops; at Yorktown, in the Mohawk Valley and at almost every place where the army was either stationed or temporarily encamped. It was usually the simple fact that fence rails were obtained with a lot less effort than wood gathered or felled in the surrounding woodlands. Invariably, it made for animosity and bitterness between the soldiers and the inhabitants. Certainly not the first time that General Washington had directed his attention to discipline in this connection, he indicated his displeasure "to see that notwithstanding there is plenty of wood in the Vicinity of Camp that a practice prevails of burning Rails and thereby adding to the distress of the inhabitants. . . ."[162] Regimental commanders were instructed "to put a stop to so prenicious a practise."

Matters of discipline were not restricted to the soldiers alone. "The Gen^{l} has been informed there is in the possession of some officers of the army Negroes who have Come out of York, if there is any such, report is to be made immediately to the Adj^{t} Gen^{l} and if any officer should be found after this notice keeping in his service a Negro under the Above description, he may depend on being Called to the strictes Account for this Order is to extend to the Malitia Officers as well as those of the Continental Troops."[163]

During the preparations for the siege, the men of the First New York were busy at their assigned tasks. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck had already been assigned as a "Duty Officer" on the twenty-ninth. Other officers of the Regiment were assigned at other times; Captain Bleeker on October third;[164] Major Graham and Captain Aorson on the sixth.[165]

On October second, both the First New York and the Second New York were detailed to making fascines (bundles of saplings used for filling trenches and creating earthworks) and gabions (saplings driven into the earth in small circles and woven with branches to form bottomless wicker baskets to be filled with earth.) The following day, orders were changed and indicated that "the first Brigade of Light troops will turn out at six O Clock to Morrow for facine making in the place of the New York Brigade who has this day been on that duty—they will parade in front of their own Encampment where they will receive further orders."[166] An additional change of orders was posted for the Regiment on the fifth. "The Officers and Men of the first N. York Regiment which are on duty are to be immediately relieved and the whole of the Regiment to be held in the Most perfect readiness for duty, and to be furnished with provisions agreeable to Gen^{l} orders."[167]

The assault on Yorktown was to be made in two parallels. The nature of the terrain determined, to some extent, the areas which were to become the points of attack. The ravine separating the French and British positions precluded any extensive operations on that end of the line. The British left was therefore to receive the thrust of the assault. Plans for the first parallel of trenches called for a line extending approximately two thousand yards from a point opposite the British center around to the bank of the York River below the town. Distance from the enemy lines was to be about six hundred yards. A distance of about eight hundred yards on the right was made necessary by the position of the two British redoubts which were located in front of their left near the river.

The opening of the trenches began on Saturday night, October sixth. The American detachment, commanded by Major General Lincoln, worked the right half of the line. Six regiments, one from the right of each Brigade, made up the fatigue party and provided enough men under arms to repel any attack. Dr. Thacher described the scene. "This business was conducted with great silence and secrecy, and we were favored by Providence with a night of extreme darkness, and were not discovered before day-light. The working party carried on their shoulders fascines and intrencing tools, while a large part of the detachment was armed with the implements of death. Horses, drawing cannon and ordnance, and wagons loaded with bags filled with sand for constructing breastworks, followed in the rear. Thus arranged, every officer and soldier knowing his particular station, orders were given to advance in perfect silence . . . Our troops were indefatigable in their labors during the night, and before day-light they had nearly completed the first parallel line of nearly two miles in extent, besides laying a foundation for two dedoubts, within about six hundred yards of the enemy's lines."[168] Lieutenant Colonel Tench Tilghman, aide de camp to General

Washington, remarked that "The enemy kept up a pretty brisk fire during the night; but as our working parties were not discovered by them, their shot were in a wrong direction."[169] As the night wore on, the weather turned cold and a heavy rain made work and guard duty in the open field most uncomfortable.

The complete success of the French and American efforts was due to the fact that the enemy had been unaware of the Allied activity during the night. As dawn lit up the sky, the line of earthworks was revealed, and while the trenches were not complete the embankment was high enough to permit the men to continue working without fear of exposure to the fire of the enemy.

Regulations for the service of the siege had been published on the sixth, fifty-four in all. Procedures and responsibility were spelled out in detail. "The service of the seige will be performed by Divisions . . . the Division shall be warned for the trenches the preceding evening . . . No officer or soldier of Regiments Commanded for trenches will be excused from Mounting unless he be sick . . . The trenches shall be relieved every twenty four hours . . . Each soldier going to the trenches either to Mount guard or to work shall take with him a facine to be left at the Deposite of the trenches . . . All the troops either relieveing or Relieved will march with Drums beating Colours flying and Carry Arms to the place from whence they are to file off there they will support their Arms . . . When the troops shall have taken their posts in the trenches the standard bearers will plant their standards upon the Epaulments. . . ."[170]

Work on the trenches continued. Batteries were constructed. Cannons were moved into place. The First New York was assigned to trench duty on the ninth, along with the rest of General Lincoln's division. The New York Brigade and a detachment of two hundred militia took post on the left of the American line. Orders covered all eventualities. "In Case the Enemy should move to attact the left occupied by the french the York Brigade will immediately advance and fall on their flank . . . if the York Brigade should move the first Brigade of Light troops will immediately advance and take the post which they Occupied in the trenches."[171]

Each unit took its tour of duty in the trenches. When out of the trenches, each regiment was responsible for making additional saucissons, pickets for staking saucissons, gabions and fascines and "to keep the quantity always in readiness by replacing the daily consumption." Instruction also specified that, "The Saucissons are to be from nine to eighteen feet long the Gabions two and a Half feet wide and three feet high; and the Fascines six feet long."[172] Each regiment was to supply its assigned share. The number required from the First New York was 28 Saucissons; 280 Pickets; 28 Gabions and 93 Fascines.[173]

Washington had personally touched off the first cannon shot toward the enemy on the tenth. Dr. Thacher remarked that for the next several days "a tremendous and incessant firing from the American and French batteries is kept up, and the enemy return the fire with little effect . . . The siege is daily becoming more and more formidable and alarming . . . The bomb shells from the besiegers and the besieged are incessantly crossing each others' path in the air."[174] Fifty-two pieces of artillery were now pouring their fire onto the British and, to a large measure, had succeeded in silencing their batteries.

During the night of the eleventh, the second parallel was opened "within short musket range of the town."[175] "The parties moved out at dusk, every second man carrying a fascine and shovel . . . by morning they had thrown up an intrenchment seven hundred and fifty yards long, three and a half feet deep, and seven feet wide."[176] The presence of the two British redoubts in front of the right end of the French and American line prevented the extension of the second parallel to the river.

The decision was made to take the two British redoubts by storm. The French were to undertake the capture of redoubt number nine. The assault on redoubt number ten, closest to the river, was assigned to Alexander Hamilton's Battalion of Light Infantry. Hamilton's Battalion included Captain Leonard Bleeker's Light Infantry Company of the First New York together with an additional New York company and two Connecticut companies, a total of about two hundred men. Redoubt number ten was a square fortification, manned by about seventy British soldiers and commanded by Major Campbell.

The bayonet was to be the sole means employed in taking the redoubt. Early in the evening of October fourteenth, at the given signal, "Hamilton and his column advanced rapidly with unloaded muskets. . . ."[177] An additional detachment of American light infantry had been directed around to the opposite side of the redoubt to prevent the escape of the British. As the Light Infantrymen under Hamilton closed upon the British works, "they rushed to the charge without waiting for the sappers to remove the abatis . . . Climbing over or breaking through the obstructions, they reached the ditch, enveloped the work, and scaling the parapet, made the capture within ten minutes after the start."[178] Everything had gone as planned. American losses in taking redoubt number ten were significantly less than those suffered by the French in taking redoubt number nine. The principal reason was that the French infantrymen waited for their sappers to remove the abatis and were exposed to the fire of the enemy in the meantime. Hamilton reported casualties in his Battalion of four rank and file wounded.[179] One of these was Corporal Adam Coopernal of the First New York. Total American losses in the storming of redoubt number ten were put at nine killed and thirty-one wounded.

No sooner were the redoubts in American and French hands than lines were moved forward, alterations were quickly implemented, and the redoubts became a part of the Allied Second Parallel. Next morning, the "York Brigade," including the First New York Regiment, was advanced "with drums & Colours flying and carried arms to the Redoubt" taken by the French.[180] Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt remarked that, "this insulting movement drew us the resentment of our Enemies who fired an incessant shower of Shells without doing any injury,"[181] The siege instruction for advancing with drums beating and colors flying had been modified, and as the New York troops reached the captured redoubt, Baron von Steuben ordered the music stopped and the enemy firing ceased.[182]

Cornwallis made one further attempt at the Allied lines on the fifteenth. The overall situation was not changed. Resigning himself to the inevitable, on the morning of October seventeenth, Cornwallis "beat a parley," requested a cessation of hostilities and the appointment of commissioners to draw up terms of surrender. Commissioners met, terms were agreed upon and on the nineteenth, the surrender was completed. The final scene has been described many times. The British, resplendent in their new uniforms, marched out between the American and French troops drawn up on either side. Colors were cased. Musicians played a British march: "The World Turned Upside Down." The grounding of arms was particularly onerous and many of the soldiers threw their muskets on the ground as if to damage them. A terse order from General Lincoln put a stop to this conduct and the proceedings continued in a more orderly and acceptable fashion.

The surrender of the British Colors at Yorktown has been a topic of discussion. Some sources indicate that the surrendered British flags were received by Clinton's New York Brigade. This apparently stems from Lossing's account which goes so far as to describe the "interesting ceremony" in great detail and involves Ensign Robert Wilson of Captain Gregg's Company of the First New York as the central figure.[183]

American casualties at Yorktown were relatively light: twenty killed and fifty-six wounded. One soldier from the First New York Regiment died at Yorktown and three were wounded.

Henry Randle, private in Captain Aorson's Company, died on or about October 16, 1781.[184] The nature of his wounds or the immediate cause of his death is unknown. A black man, Randle had belonged to John Crandle of Fishkill, Dutchess County, New York and "continued the Property of the said John Crandle untill the time of his Death. . . ."[185] He had been enlisted in the Third New York Regiment in March 1777. In the early part of 1781, he had been "On Command with Col. Cochran"[186] of the Second New York Regiment. On March 21, 1793, John Crandle's son Jacob received from the Treasurer of the State

of New York "Fifteen Shillings & Six Pence in Cash for the Service of Henry Randle deceased in Col^{o} Van Schaicks Regim^{t} in the year 1781 who was the property of my Father. . . ."[187]

The following men of the First New York were among those Americans wounded at Yorktown:

WOUNDED

Adam Coopernal - Corporal - Captain Leonard Bleeker's Light Infantry Company - Adam Coopernal had enlisted in Captain Graham's Company of the First New York on March 9, 1777. On a scouting mission from Fort George on March 20, 1777, Coopernal was taken prisoner in the ambush at Sabbath Day Point. He was subsequently transferred into Captain Finck's Company where he was promoted to Corporal in September 1780. When the Regiments were consolidated in 1781, he was "draughted" into Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company. The nature or extent of the wounds Adam Coopernal received in the storming of Redoubt Number Ten is not known. As a result, however, he remained in the hospital in Philadelphia until September 1782 when he was removed to the hospital at Albany. Having been transferred to the Corps of Invalids, Corporal Coopernal was discharged from the Continental Army on October 3, 1782.

Alexander Mills - Private - Captain Leonard Bleeker's Light Infantry Company - Mills, a laborer from New York City, had enlisted in the Regiment on February 1, 1777. He lost his right leg at Yorktown on September 29th: the first full day in the lines facing the British positions. Mills was to spend many months, all of 1782 and well into 1783, in the hospital at Philadelphia before being discharged from the Army and receiving a pension from the State of New York.

John Cook, Sen^{r}. - Private - Captain Charles Parson's Company - John Cook, Sen^{r}. was one of those father and son combinations of which there were several in the First New York. John Cook, Jun^{r} was also a private in Captain Parson's Company. John Cook, Sen^{r}, a laborer from Slaughter's Landing in Orange County, New York (present day Rockland Lake, Rockland County, New York), had enlisted early in the War and was promoted to Sergeant on November 11, 1776. Reduced to the ranks on July 23, 1777, he continued to serve with the Regiment until he was disabled by an exploding bombshell at Yorktown. While the nature and extent of John Cook Sen^{r}'s injury is not known, he was removed to the hospital at New Windsor in April 1782 where he remained until discharged from the Corps of Invalids on January 3, 1783. John Cook Sen^{r}. received a disabled veteran's pension from the State of New York.

After a few day's rest, General Washington instructed the troops "to be in readiness to move at the shortest notice."[188] Many of the usual day to day things took place before the troops were ordered to begin the march north. Major Graham sat on a court martial on the twenty-first.[189] Much of what had been constructed had to be dismantled and on the thirtieth, the First New York was one of those regiments "employed in Levelling the works."[190] The regiment was assigned "for duty" again on Saturday, November third.[191]

General Clinton and General Dayton "were somewhat indesposed and permitted to return by water."[192] Colonel Van Schaick had left Philadelphia and was on leave at Albany. Command of the New York and New Jersey troops fell to Colonel Van Cortlandt.

Officers excepted, the British and German prisoners were to be conducted to either Winchester or Fredericksburgh, Virginia under the custodianship of the militia. Seven hundred British and Hessian prisoners were assigned to Colonel Van Cortlandt whose New York and New Jersey troops were to provide a guard to escort them into the interior. Colonel Van Cortlandt set out with his charge of prisoners and marched as far as Fredericksburgh where they were "delivered to an officer of the Virginia militia."[193] The march was resumed and the troops continued northward through "Alexandria, George Town, Bladenburg and Baltimore." As they moved further north, the bite of winter was being felt more every day. The men pushed on back through Philadelphia to Trenton where the New Jersey regiments were left behind as the First New York and the Second New York marched on to "Pumpton."

The weather had become extremely cold. Even though the First New York had received an unusually fine supply of clothing earlier in the year, the exigencies of the campaign, misdirection and loss of baggage, normal pilferage and the attitude of the men to carry no more than they needed at the moment, resulted in the soldiers being generally unprepared for the cold weather. At Pompton, Colonel Van Cortlandt remarked that the troops were "almost destitute of clothing—no money to purchase any. . . ."[194] Upon arrival at "Pumpton," the men of both New York regiments fell to cutting and stripping logs for the construction of "Hutts for our Winter accomodations."[195] Colonel Van Cortlandt remarked that the men were "obliged to labour hard to make the hutts warm" and that the whole endeavor "was attended with difficulty."[196]

General Washington, as well as many of the other general officers, was ardent in his belief that the men should attend divine service regularly. In most instances, this was generally accomplished. The First New York, however, had not had a chaplain in the regiment for over five years. Services attended by the men of the regiment were conducted by chaplains of other regiments or clergymen outside the military. At "Pumpton", because of the bitter cold, Colonel Van Cortlandt was prompted to modify his attempts to conform to the accepted practice. He expressed

the opinion that it was "almost Cruelty" to keep the men "exposed in the open air to hear preaching from our worthy Chaplain Doc^{r} John Gannor."[197] Accordingly, Doctor Gannor was "permitted to retire to his family until called for . . . which . . . was not necessary until the Breaking up of Winter when he returned of his own pleasure. . . ."[198]

Captain John C. Ten Broeck.
Courtesy Columbia County Historical Society.

EIGHT

1782

The surrender of Cornwallis virtually concluded the military operations of the American Revolution and many people regarded Yorktown as the end of the war. However, some concentrations of British troops still remained intact, particularly in New York City. Washington was determined to maintain the Continental Army as an effective force until the removal of the British from America had eliminated any further need for more than a very modest military establishment. Now, in the early months of 1782, after seven and a half years of war, the end appeared to be in sight.

The following Muster Roll of the officers of the First New York Regiment, signed by Major Graham on the twenty-second of January, indicates only minor changes over the previous year.[1] There were some promotions. As previously noted, John C. Ten Broeck had been promoted to captain. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Benjamin Gilbert and Wilhelmus Ryckman were raised from ensign to lieutenant. Two new names appeared as ensigns, William Bloodgood and Adam Ten Broeck. Alexander Clinton, while still carried on the roll of Captain Gregg's company, was no longer with the regiment:

When Appoint'd	*Officers Names*	*Rank*	*Remarks*
1775 June 28th	Goose Van Schaick	Colonel	At Albany
1776 Nov 21st	Cornelius Van Dyck	Lt. Colonel	On Furlough
1779 March 16th	John Graham	Major	
1780 Sept 29th	Jacob H. Wendell	Lt. Adj't	
1780 May 16th	Henry Van Woert	Lt. & Q^t Mas^t	On Furlough
1781 April 5th	Jerem^h VanRensselaer	Lt. & Pay Mas^t	
1779 March 26th	Ephraim Snow	Recruit Officer	
1779 Oct 13th	Caleb Sweet	Surgeon	On Furlough
1776 Nov 21	John Elliot	Mate	
	LIGHT INFANTRY		
1776 Nov^r 21st	Leonard Bleeker	Captain	Present doing B. Maj^r duty
1780 March 1st	Samuel Lewis	Lieutenant	On Furlough
1779 May 29th	Douw Fonda	Ensign	
	1st COMPANY		
1776 Nov 21st	Aaron Aorson	Captain	On Furlough
1776 Nov 21st	Abr^m Hardenburgh	Lieutenant	
1778 Jan^y 1	Joseph Morrell	Ensign	Brigade Q^t Master

2nd COMPANY

1776 Nov 21st	Cornelius T. Jansen	Captain	
1778 March 1st	Josiah Bagley	Lieutenant	On Furlough
1778 May 28th	Benjn Herring	Ensign	

3rd COMPANY

1776 Feby 16th	Benjamin Hicks	Captain	
1781 Feby 28th	Henry Swartwout	Lieutenant	
1781 June 29th	John Fondey	Ensign	

4th COMPANY

1776 Nov 21st	James Gregg	Captain	
1776 Nov 21st	Benjn Bogardus	Lieutenant	
1781 June 29th	Robert Wilson	Ensign	On Furlough
1780 Sept 29th	Alex Clinton	Ensign	Transferred to Colo Lambs Regt 29 June 1781

5th COMPANY

1776 Nov 21	Henry Tiebout	Captain	
—	John Furman	Lieutenant	
1779 Feby 6th	Garret Lansing	Ensign	

6th COMPANY

1779 March 26	Charles Parsons	Captain	
1781 April 5th	Benjamin Gilbert	Lieutenant	On Command
1780 Septbr 29	John Marsh	Ensign	On Furlough

7th COMPANY

1780 June 7th	George Sytez	Captain	
1779 May 29th	Peter Magee	Lieutenant	On Furlough
1781 June 29	William Bloodgood	Ensign	

8th COMPANY

1781 April 5th	John C. Ten Broeck	Captain	On Furlough
1781 April 5th	Wilhelmus Ryckman	Lieutenant	
1781 June 29th	Adam Ten Broeck	Ensign	

Once built, the huts at Pompton provided a relatively comfortable accommodation for the soldiers. Apart from the coldness of the weather and some deficiencies in clothing and equipment, the First New York was in comparatively good order.

As the weeks passed and spring approached, Chaplain Gannor returned to the New York encampment. He was advised by the soldiers that during the Winter they had enjoyed "tolerable Health but hard times otherwise." In somewhat typical soldier fashion, the men complained that "we have wanted almost everything . . . clothing, provisions and money and hardest of all we have not had even the word of God to Comfort us. . . ."[2]

Having spent the winter in Philadelphia, at the end of March, General Washington set out for Newburgh, the scene of the concentration of the main Continental Army. En route, accompanied by Mrs. Washington, the Commander-in-Chief took time to spend two nights and one day with the New York regiments at their camp at Pompton. Washington arrived at the "New York Hutts" late on Saturday, March 30th and remained, as Colonel Van Cortlandt said, "in my humble station from Saturday Evening until Monday Morning."[3] The General avoided travel on Sunday whenever possible. Early on Monday morning, however, he and Mrs. Washington resumed their journey accompanied by an escort of New York soldiers "as a Guard on his way to Newburgh. . . ."[4]

At the end of April, the First New York was mustered to a total of five hundred thirty-nine officers and men.[5] This was one hundred seventy-eight short of the total authorized for the regiment, including the Light Infantry Company.[6] Colonel Van Schaick was still on leave at Albany. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was also "absent with leave" and the regiment was under the immediate command of Major Graham. Recruiting officer, Lieutenant Ephram Snow and paymaster, Lieutenant Jeremiah Van Renesselaer were absent "On Command." Captain Aorson had been appointed brigade major and Ensign Joseph Morrell had been named brigade quarter master. Two officers were "In Arrest," Ensign William Bloodgood and Captain Leonard Bleeker. Captain Bleeker had been placed in arrest "upon the Complaint of Ensign Woodruf of the 2nd N. Y. Regt . . . for Ungentlemenlike behaviour and abusing Mr. Woodruff the evening of the fourth of March last. . . ."[7] The matter was soon resolved and Captain Bleeker removed from arrest. Ensign Bloodgood was to remain "In arrest" for a number of months.

Eleven men and one sergeant of the First New York still remained with General Schuyler at Saratoga as his personal guard. Some insight into the kind of men assigned to General Schuyler's Guard, in addition to those who had been previously transferred to the Corps of Invalids, can be gleaned from the remark made by Colonel Walter Stewart, Inspector for the Northern Army, that ". . . they are mostly Taylors, Carpenters, Shoemakers. . . ."[8]

During April and May, the largest detachment of men whose duty assignment separated them from the regimental camp at Pompton, were "On Command" at the Block House at Smith's Clove (Sidman's Fort). In April, twenty-two men and, in May, Lieutenant Henry Swartwout and fourteen men were stationed at that post. In the succeeding months, however, only one or two men were assigned there. At various times, the only man from the First New York at that location was Private Lockert Lewis of Captain Tiebout's Company, who had been stationed at the Block House early in the year, became sick and was to remain there through the end of 1782. With the exception of the soldiers of the First New York stationed at the Block House from time to time and those assigned to General Schuyler's Guard, the regiment was "kept very well together."

Lieutenant Ephram Snow was actively recruiting for the regiment and, in May, he was joined in that activity by Lieutenant Peter Magee of Captain Sytez's Company. Lieutenant Magee centered his activity in the Fishkill area where, perhaps because of the large depot, barracks and military activity at that location, recruiting efforts had usually proven fruitful. In April, seven men were enlisted, in May, eleven. One source of recruits for the line regiments continued to be the levies and the militia. In addition to the other recruiting activities of the First New York, Lieutenant John Furman was instructed by General Washington to "proceed to Fishkill and there apply to Colo. Weissenfels for the proportion of the Levies for your Line one half of which are for the Regiment of Artillery and the other half for the two Regiments of Infantry. You are to receive no Men but such as are able bodied and every way fit for Soldiers."[9] Additional men were to be obtained for the First New York from Colo. Marinus Willett's Regiment, and Furman was instructed to send a report of the number of men received to the Commander-in-Chief.

The lack of pay, however, continued to be a headache for the recruiting officers and the situation made the job of filling the ranks of the First New York that much more difficult. The circumstances in respect to the soldiers' pay had not materially improved and General Washington was the first to admit that, "The Situation of the New York Troops, I am sensible, is indeed distressing but I am in hopes their distress will be in some measure alleviated, by an order which the Dep. Pay Master has just received on the Treasury of this State for money to pay the Troops of its Line & should this not be productive of relief, I will make representations to Congress and use every means in my power, to have them placed in as favorable circumstances as the Troops of other States."[10]

In addition to the arrearages in pay to the soldiers, the settlement of officers' accounts often took many months. From time to time, for various reasons, officers of the Regiment would temporarily advance their own funds or more often were entitled to additional compensation for specific services performed, usually in connection with either recruiting, transportation or supply. From the following list of amounts due to some of the officers of the First New York, prepared by LieutenantColonel Van Dyck in early 1782, it can be seen that some amounts due were in arrears for well over a year.[11] The amounts due Lieutenants Salisbury, Henry, Van Valkenburg and Tierce were particularly vexing because these officers were no longer with the regiment. It was not unusual for an officer to resign or leave the regiment and still

have an amount of money owed to him, and the case of Lieutenant Henry is but one illustration of the time it sometimes took to settle an account. Further, the mere submission of the memorandum by Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was by no means an indication that prompt payment could be anticipated.

A Memorandum of Orders Sent by Col^{o} Cornelius V^{n} Dyck
of the 1st N. Yorke Regt.

1 Order from Lt. Salsbury Dated the 6th of Oct^{r} 1780 Continantal—he Allowed for the Above £12.0.0 hard money—	£155.21.8
1 Do from En^{s} Gilbert Dated 6th of Oct^{r} 1780—	82.16.0
1 Do from Lt. Peter Tearse Dated Do—	29.0.0
1 Do from Capt. Parsons Date^{d} Do—	30.8.0
1 Do from Lt. V^{n} Valkenberg — Do	13.2.0
1 Do from Lt. Henry Dated 13th of Ap^{r} 1779—	23.0.0
1 from Do dated 1780—	17.14.0
Maj^{r} Grahams Accountt 1781—	32.16.0
Maj^{r} Coghrans order & Acct Dated 1779 & 1780—	142.0.0
Adj't Wendells Accountt 1780	52.8.0
Lt. John Ten Brooks — 1780	11.4.0
En^{s}. Gilberts Account in Hard Cash After the Above Order was Giving—£1.5.4.	

The enlistment of John and James Ryndart at Fishkill, later in the year, seemed to provide an example of two circumstances which tended to persist in the Regiment. John and James Ryndart had enlisted for three years. James' enlistment followed that of John by one day. No sooner had both men enlisted than they reported sick and were reported on the roll of Captain Aorson's Company as "Sick at Fishkill,"[12] All during the war it had been noted that all too often, once having enlisted and received whatever bounties or inducements were offered, men would become disillusioned and become "sick" or desert, In all armies "sick call" has been used by the men as a means for attempting to avoid fatigue duty. Often the regimental surgeon of the First New York, Dr. Caleb Sweet, was engaged in trying to determine who were sick and who were pretenders.

Enlistment of the Ryndarts continued what had become a relatively frequent occurrence, the enlistment into the regiment—of men of the same family— in some cases, father and son, in some cases, brothers. The pattern made itself evident in the First New York in the very beginning of the war, as indicated by the example of John and James Amerman who enlisted in Captain Quackenboss' Company on July 1, 1775.[13] In a number of instances, these "family combinations" appeared as fifer and drummer in the same company. James Adams, drummer and William Adams, fifer, in Captain Hicks' Company[14] and Archibald and

Adam Armstrong, drummer and fifer respectively, in Captain Parsons' Company,[15] are two examples. Both men were not always a part of the music or the same general activity. The roll of Captain Jansen's Company reveals Corporal Lancaster Lighthall and James Lighthall, the latter being an artificer who spent some time at West Point.[16] As previously noted, John Cook Sen^{r}., private in Captain Parson's Company, was wounded at Yorktown and serving with him, as a private in the same company, was John Cook Jun^{r}.[17] Primarily because of Alexander Maroney's longevity, he and his father, Florence Maroney, are to command our attention again before the present considerations are concluded.

In addition to the recruiting of men new to the First New York, others joined or rejoined the regiment from at least two different sources. "John Moore deserted 31 Aug 81—Retaken & Joined 24 March 1782,"[18] was the kind of entry which appeared on many company muster rolls and returns. Because keeping the number of men in a regiment up to anywhere near full strength usually presented such a problem, in a great many cases deserters, when retaken, were whipped or punished and put back into the ranks.

In some respects surprising was the fact that men who had been taken prisoner by the enemy and who had either escaped or been exchanged returned to the regiment. Obviously, the discipline in the First New York was preferable to the conditions of imprisonment. There were other reasons. Men who did not return to their regiments would be hard pressed to qualify for pensions or bounty lands, although these considerations were generally not well understood by the men. Christian Chilner, private in Captain Gregg's Company, who was captured on March 20, 1779 and returned to take his place in the regiment almost two and a half years later, on October 12th 1782, was but one such instance.[19]

As we have seen, bounty jumping was common. However bounty jumping "into" the First New York from other regiments did not occur frequently. The discipline maintained in the regiment by the field officers was well known and those men who were tempted to "jump" were not generally attracted to the First New York. "Caleb Howard, soldier tried by . . . General Courtmartial for deserting, from the regiment late Colonel Lee's and reinlisting in the 1st New York regiment is found guilty . . . and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his naked back,"[20] was one of those few exceptions.

The occasional instance of one individual paying someone else to serve in his place was a practice which still persisted in the First New York and was not altogether uncommon elsewhere. The agreement made between Hugh Deyou and Thom^{s} Moore on the first of January illustrates the kind of arrangement that was sometimes made. ". . . the Said Thom^{s} Moore is to Serve in the room of Hugh Deyou for the Space of three years . . . in Cap^{t} Gregg's Company . . . for the Sum of Forty pounds hard money. . . ."[21] Deyou went on to indicate that, "in Case the said Thom^{s} Moore Serves longer then the three Years" he would pay him "Ten pounds a year."[22]

In April, while both New York regiments were encamped at Pompton, Baron Von Steuben, "Inspector General of the Armys of the United States," remarked to Governor Clinton that, "I have the Pleasure to inform your excellency that the appearance of the New York Line which I inspected last week does them the greatest honor; the men are exceedingly well cloathed, and armed, & by the attention of their officers I have reason to expect they will be disciplined the ensuing campaign eqqual to any troops in the army. . . ."[23] This was a far cry from his words on the condition of the New York Brigade at Morristown just over two years ago, in the Winter of 1779.

As a result of his inspection of the First New York Regiment, Baron Von Steuben remarked that, "This Regiment is in exceeding good order—their Arms and Accoutrements are taken care of and their cloathing is extreamly well attended to—the Regiment performs its Exercise well, and went thru a Variety of Manouvers with Great Exactness. . . ."[24]

In addition to the detailed inspection of the regiment conducted by Baron Von Steuben, during the spring other such inspections were conducted by Colonel Walter Stewart, Inspector for the Northern Army.[25] Again, reports and remarks about the condition of the regiment were uniformly favorable. "This Regiment made a very good appearance, the men were clean and well dressed. they stand Steady under arms, and are stout and well made in General. Attention has been paid by the officers to the making of their cloathes, and they fit very well . . . they appear well disciplined and attended to . . .",[26] described the picture presented by the officers and men of the First New York. The officers of the First New York were complimented on their performance of duty. "The Comp^{y} officers of this Regiment deserve much credit for the attention they have paid to the Men Under their Command. . . ."[27] The comment was made by Colonel Stewart that, "Major Graham likewise deserves praise for his attention & Exertions for the Good of the Regiment."[28]

Exclusive of commissioned officers, the inspection return for the month of June showed the strength of the First New York to be approximately five hundred fifty-five men. The following articles of clothing, listed on the Return as being "In Use" in the regiment, provide the basis for some interesting observations.[29]

Item	*Number "In Use"*
Coats	522
Vests	513
Breeches	515
Woolen Overalls	494
Linen Overalls	510
Shirts	929
Shoes	443
Hats	505
Blankets	355
Hose	942
Stocks	219
Cravats	290
Buckles	347

The 522 Coats indicate that there were only about thirty-three men or approximately six percent of the regiment without a regimental uniform coat. While over the years the First New York had been relatively well provided with regimental coats as compared to some of the other units, the present status was an achievement of no mean proportions even at this late date, and, as the compliments indicated, was due in large measure to the attention of the officers.

Vests or Waistcoats, not every man had one.

Those men who did not have a pair of breeches had a pair of woolen or linen overalls or both.[30] Again, the supply had not always been this plentiful.

While the number of shirts "In Use" indicated an ample supply, normal wear and tear, loss, etc. was starting to become apparent. The comment was made that "a Shirt for each man" was beginning to be "much wanted."[31]

Shoes—the perennial problem—were still in short supply and "much wanted."

Hats—some fifty of the men were wanting a cocked hat.

Blankets—all during the war the supply had never been sufficient and shortages were still a problem.

About thirty of the men had neither a stock nor a cravat.[32] It is interesting to note, however, that both were in service in the regiment simultaneously.

Generally, the regiment was relatively well supplied with most items of uniforms and clothing. With some notable exceptions, where deficiencies existed it was to a great extent in the supplies available for recruits.

The arms and accoutrements in use in the First New York were also spelled out in the inspection return for the month of June. The arms had been described as being "clean" and "in Excellent Order, Accoutrements well attended to. . . ." The following list of arms and accoutrements from the same return indicates not only those items in use in the regiment but also the number "Wanting to Complete" or the number of each item needed to provide the authorized quantity.[33]

Item	*Number "Present fit for Duty"*	*Number "Wanting to Complete"*
Muskets	459	77
Bayonets	458	78
Cartridge Boxes	454	82
Worms	3	141
Screw Drivers	108	36
Flints	896	712
Cartridges	14,877	11,923
Esspontoons	—	27
Swords	1	43
Sword Belts	1	43
Drums	3	6
Fifes	9	1
Colours	—	2

In the same month of June, the regiment listed five hundred "Rank and File" and thirty-six sergeants. The four hundred fifty-nine muskets in use left seventy-seven men without arms. Of the men who had muskets, only one was missing a bayonet. The situation regarding bayonets had certainly improved since the beginning of the war. In April, the regiment had reported only fifteen men without muskets. The number fluctuated somewhat from month to month due to loss, desertion, death, etc. From April to June, however, sixty-four men joined the regiment and this was the primary reason why the number without muskets had risen so sharply.

The same general situation prevailed in the matter of cartridge boxes. It was primarily the new men who did not have one.

Flints presented a problem. As we can see, each man was supposed to have three flints. Supposedly each man with a musket had one flint, some had two. Few, if any, had three.

Cartridges in the hands of the men were slightly over half the number authorized. Each man was supposed to have fifty. If the 14,877 cartridges available were evenly distributed among the five hundred thirty-six men, it meant each man had about twenty-seven. For some reason, cartridges seemed to get "Lost in Service" more easily than most other items. In April, one hundred ninety were lost; in May, one hundred fifty; and in June, four hundred sixty.[34] "Esspontoons" in the First New York were conspicuous by their absence.

It was noted that with one sole exception, "The Sigeants have no Swords."[35] The fact that the sergeants had no swords presents an opportunity for comparison with a previous situation regarding muskets. Following the British surrender at Saratoga, Colonel Van Schaick promptly solicited General Gates for five hundred muskets captured from the enemy to replace the old and worn arms in service in the First New York. However, Colonel Van Schaick being away from the regiment during and after the Battle of Yorktown, the impetus was apparently lacking, and no one else made any effort to provide the sergeants of the First New York with hangers or swords taken from the British at Yorktown.

Fifes were relatively well supplied. Drums were another story; six companies were without.

From the very beginning of the war, Washington had been endeavoring to get flags designed and made up and put into the hands of the various regiments of the army. Results were disappointing and flags never seemed to materialize. In 1776, in order to have some flags, Colonels were permitted "to fix upon any such as they could procure and might deem proper."[36] Immediately upon taking command of the First New York, Colonel Van Schaick had addressed himself to the problem. For almost the entire war, neither Congress nor the Board of War succeeded in providing flags for the regiments. Consequently, the task of obtaining colors continued with the colonel or officers of the individual regiments. The foregoing list indicates that there were no "Colours" nor flags in service in the First New York. This is misleading and requires further explanation. Even at this late date, colours had still not been supplied to the regiment by any of the issuing authorities. However, colours existed and were in service in the regiment, and, viewing the First New York, Baron Von Steuben remarked that "the Regiment is provided with colours at the Expense of the Officers."[37]

"Camp Equipage" was also itemized in the inspection returns and the following list is from the Inspection Return of the regiment for the month of May:[38]

Item	*Number In Use*	*Number Deficient*	*Number Lost*
Marquis		2	
Horsemen's Tents		21	
Common Tents		97	
Knap Sacks	56	453	
Canteens	9	506	7
Camp Kettles	42	55	
Cov^{d} Kettles		14	
Axes	36	34	
Spades		9	
Shovels	1		
Picks		9	

Obviously, tents were still one of the most difficult items to obtain. Contrary to what might be generally assumed, both knapsacks and canteens were considered as "Camp Equipage" even though both items were often worn about the person of each of the soldiers. As can be seen, both items were "deficient" in substantial numbers. There were more camp kettles deficient than there were in use in the regiment. Excluding commissioned officers, there was one kettle for about every twelve men. Covered kettles, none.

Despite the reported shortages and deficiencies in all areas including pay, clothing and equipment, the First New York was described as being in excellent condition. Washington's observation of the regiment had led him to concur with Inspector General Von Steuben that the First New York was "in the best order possible."[39] The shortages, however, were relative and the situation was compared with other previous times, when deficiencies were more acute. In addition, the advent of the warmer weather made the lack of some items like blankets, shoes, etc. seem somewhat less important.

At Pompton, the weeks passed slowly. On July third, Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, in a letter to his wife remarked that, "I am in good health . . . There is no particular news stirring this quarter at present . . . We remain still in our quarters or in our huts. . . ."[40] At Pompton, there was time for things that in busier circumstances would not be possible. Mrs. Van Dyck had asked her husband to obtain a few articles for her which were apparently not obtainable at home. There was always the problem of the fluctuating purchasing power and acceptability of the paper money with which the soldiers were paid. Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was asked "how the state notes go" and his reply gives some insight into the economics of the time as well as the mode by which these situations were sometimes accomplished. "Somtimes they rise and sometimes they fall in the price but the articles you request me to get for you I will procure and send them up by Mr. Rensselear as soon as he gets ready to go home."[41]

A number of the inspection returns noted that Colonel Van Schaick was not with the regiment and even Baron von Steuben remarked that, "The Colonel has been absent for a Length of Time, not known by whose Leave. . . ."[42] As we have seen, Colonel Van Schaick left the regiment in August of last year to take his considerations regarding rank to the Congress in Philadelphia. Washington was well aware of the circumstances. In December, Governor Clinton had indicated that Colonel Van Schaick's situation was one of the two remaining New York state "Matters to be sent to Congress."[43] In accordance with the resolutions regarding Colonel Van Schaick, passed by the New York Legislature on October thirtieth and November first, on December eighth, the Governor instructed the New York delegates to the Continental Congress "to inquire into the Reasons why Coll. Van Schaick was superceded in office. . . ."[44]

General Schuyler was among those prominent and influential people who expressed publicly their disappointment at the treatment of Colonel Van Schaick. About two weeks before the end of the last year, the Colonel's predicament was portrayed in General Schuyler's remarks. "Colo Van Schaicks situation is so truly disturbing that it would have been inhuman to have denied an interference, when General (Jas) Clinton was promoted to his present rank it was undoubtedly an unjust supersession of Van Schaick, who in point of mental and military qualifications was at least his equal and of superior rank in the Army. The appointment of Colo. Hazen is not only injurious, dim unjustifiable discrimination They have indeed driven an honest, attentive and good officer and who has received their thanks for the adress with which he executed the expedition against Onondaga to the destressing dilemma of serving under disgrace or ressigning to his ruin. . . ."[45]

Governor Clinton's request and the resolutions of the New York Legislature were duly noted in the records of the Continental Congress on January fifteenth of the new year. Colonel Van Schaick's request for consideration had been referred to the Secretary of War: General Benjamin Lincoln. Several months passed before the Secretary's decision and recommendations were forthcoming. On May second, in a report addressed to the President of Congress, General Lincoln indicated that, "Colonel Van Schaick is one of those cases to remedy which there are no means without establishing such principles as will involve us in perplexities from which we cannot with facility be extricated—for there are already two General Officers in the State of New York, and to increase the number will enhance the public expences—and open a door for numerous applications on the grounds Colonel Van Schaick has rested his claim . . . I am therefore of opinion that he cannot be promoted consistent with the general good of the Service though he is justly esteemed a meritorious Officer."[46]

The essence of Secretary Lincoln's thinking may be somewhat clouded, whether intentionally or unintentionally remains a question. It had been inferred that Hazen was not considered to be part of the New York line but rather as commander of the "Canadian" Regiment and therefore his promotion was not a violation of the resolves of Congress. No one had said this directly. On the other hand, as has already been cited, many people were not only in sympathy with Colonel Van Schaick's situation but were also vocally in favor of his promotion.

Included in the Secretary of War's report to Congress was his recommendation that Colonel Van Schaick "in consideration of his long service be permitted to retire. . . ."[47] Having deliberated on the Secretary's report, in a matter of days Congress evidenced its agreement with his recommendations relative to promotion by taking no action in that regard. In addition, opinion was unanimous that Colonel Van Schaick should not be permitted to retire but should continue in service.[48]

Before Colonel Van Schaick could be advised of the true nature of the Secretary of War's report and the outcome of the Congressional deliberations, word had reached him that events had taken a turn in his favor. Expressing this to James Duane, one of the New York delegates whose assistance he had solicited, Colonel Van Schaick said, "I am authenticly Informed that my Case has Been Referred to the Minister at War and that he has So far Reported In my favour as that it would be proper for Congress Immediately to promote me that placing me on the half pay would not be doing me Justice as that must Unavoidably be Cut off. By General Clintons Being Superceeded the New York Brigade Becomes Vacant and no one Better Intitled to it than myself . . . My first Object is to Continue in the Service."[49]

It was not long, however, before the Colonel became aware of the decision of Congress. His disappointment did not diminish a renewal of his efforts to obtain his promotion. On June sixth, he addressed another "Memorial" to Congress pointing out,

> "That tho your Memorialist on the 29th day of August last, did himself the Honor to represent to the United States convened in Congress the injury he had sustained in his Military rank by the promotion of Colonel Hazen, it is with concern he observes that his representation has hitherto remained without the hoped for success . . .
>
> That your Memorialist from a Consciousness of ever having zealously discharged the duties of an Officer and on some occasions of having made exertions for the promotion of the public service to the prejudice of his private Fortune entertains a well grounded confidence that if the Honorable Congress will fully enter into a consideration of the matters set forth in his former Memorial their justice will induce them to afford your Memorialist the relief to which he conseives himself entitled, as an Officer honored by the United States with an important Command in their Army."[50]

One of the results of the determination of Congress was a communication from General Washington to Colonel Van Schaick; penned only six days after the Colonel's second "Memorial." Washington's words were clear:

> "Sir -
>
> Your Letter to me of April last was transmitted to the War Office to be laid before Congress for their order -
>
> Inclosed is the Report of the Secretary of War thereon, from whence it appears that no promotion has taken place, nor Liberty granted for your retiring.
>
> It is not being in my power to permit your Absence any longer, I have to request that you immediately return to your Duty in the Army, & take Command of your Regiment."[51]

On the twenty-first, Colonel Van Schaick appealed to General Washington to "forbear any steps, prejudicial to me and my reputation, untill I know the result of one more application to Congress which I have recently made, and in which I have declared, that if no promotion can be granted me now that Gen^{l}. James Clinton is retired and that the State of New York has not its due proportion of Gen^{l}. Officers that I will Resign my Commission for which purpose I have transmitted it to Philadelphia."[52]

On the twenty-sixth, Colonel Van Schaick's second "Memorial" was referred to a five man Congressional Committee of which James Duane was a member.[53]

Other officers of the army were seeking promotion for the same reasons and on the same basis that Colonel Van Schaick had presented his case. One such officer was Brigadier General James Clinton, Colonel Van Schaick's immediate superior. The undue delay in reaching decisions in such cases placed an added burden on the Commander-in-Chief. Finally, on September first, General Washington addressed himself to the Secretary of War explaining some of the reasons for his dilemma:

> "I think it necessary to enclose you the Copies of Letters which I have lately received from Brigadier General Clinton and Colo. Shepard on the subject of the promotions to which they conceive themselves intitled, with my answer to the latter. You will perceive, that they put their continuance in service upon the determination of Congress to promote them or not. It is therefore much to be wished that such determination could be had, that they might either be satisfied or know at once that their expectations are in vain. Colo. Van Schaick of the York line keeps himself out of service upon the same principles.
>
> These matters put me into a disagreeable situation; I am loth to force an Officer into service who conceives himself injured in his Rank, and I cannot at the same time look upon myself justified in permitting him to remain at home "till his case may be decided upon."'[54]

Throughout all of Colonel Van Schaick's efforts to obtain the promotion to which he felt entitled, Washington took no active part in the matter other than to permit the Colonel to be away from the Regiment pending a decision of Congress. This attitude on the part of the Commander-in-Chief was not peculiar to Colonel Van Schaick's case alone. While he agreed that most of the officers who found themselves in this predicament were "officers of merit, and entitled to public notice from their long standing", General Washington explained that, "I would not wish to interest myself in behalf of an individual, when a number of others, under similar circumstances, are waiting the determination of Congress."[55] In a remark to the Secretary of War, the General indicated further that, "it will give me great pleasure to see such a system adopted, as will make provision for them all, in a manner agreeable to their wishes."[56]

Since neither Brigadier General Clinton nor Colonel Van Schaick were present with the army, on August twenty-ninth, Colonel Van Cortlandt had been appointed to command the New York Brigade "till a senior officer of that state would Joine it."[57]

The wheels of progress seemed stalled. Nothing happened. On September sixth, Washington wrote to Colonel Van Schaick again:

> "So much time hath elapsed since I saw you at Albany, that I should suppose you have, ere this, made yourself acquainted with the determination of Congress respecting your solicited promotion. Whether you have or not, I can no longer look upon myself at liberty to suffer you to remain from your Regiment, under your former plea, and am therefore obliged to call upon you to join without delay."[58]

Upon receipt of General Washington's instructions, the Colonel's response was clear; ". . . I shall immediately repair to my Regiment. . . ."[59]

For a few more weeks some hope still remained with Colonel Van Schaick that the Congressional Committee to whom his present considerations had been referred might act in his favor. Indeed, this was not to be the case. On November twelfth, the Committee declared that any report on Colonel Van Schaick's "letters" would be premature and the Committee was discharged without taking any action.[60]

From the First New York camp at "Pumpton Plains" on August eighteenth, Major Graham indicated that of the five hundred eighty noncommissioned officers and privates in the Regiment, the enlistment time of only one man would expire on or before December 31, 1782. During the months of 1783, only fifty-five more would expire, all in the month of January.[61] On August twenty-first, orders were received for the First New York, as part of the New York Brigade, "to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's warning. . . ."[62] On the same day, Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company of the First New York was instructed to join together with the other "Light companies of the York and Jersey lines to form a battalion under the command of Major Forman."[63] Within a matter of days, the First New York was to break camp at Pompton and move to a new position at Verplank's Point on the east side of the Hudson River. Boats were designated to ferry each regiment and brigade across the river and each brigade was to have "a separate landing." The boats were to be kept available to each of the brigades to which they were assigned and the quartermasters were required to "place guards over them, and are to be responsible for the safe keeping and care of them till further orders."[64] Before the troops removed to their new positions, however, some things needed attention.

The ammunition had to be inspected, "the bad and indifferent to be exchanged . . . Each soldier is to have a good flint in his musket and another in his Cartouch-box."[65] Those men of the Regiment who were sick and unable to march were ordered to the proper hospitals. The men's baggage and effects were to be "thoroughly inspected, and the articles pointed out which they are to carry with them."[66] Orders included instructions for the proper wearing of regimental uniform coats and indicated that the men "may take all their regimentals into the field; but when they are completed with hunting shirts, it is expected the uniform coats will not be worn so long as the warm season continues, except on particular occasions, such as guards formed on the grand parade, inspections reviews, etc."[67]

Orders on the twenty-ninth indicated that the New York Brigade was to be part of the right wing of the army, commanded by Major General Gates. The second division of the right wing, under the command of Major General St. Clair, included the First New York Regiment.[68]

The encampment at Verplank's Point was to be of relatively short duration; about eight weeks. It was established primarily for the purpose of receiving and extending a welcome to the French army on their march from Yorktown to the Eastern Seaboard, preparatory to embarking on the voyage home.

By September first, the First New York had arrived at Verplank's Point. General Washington expressed his desire that "the troops should make themselves as comfortable as possible while in the field", and his orders indicated that:

> ". . . the encampment itself is very pleasant and healthy, straw will be issued at the rate of two bundles pr. tent, of this with the flaggs and leaves which may be procured, convenient Matts or bedding may be formed; shades or bowers should also be erected in front of the tents in the construction of which regularity will be extremely pleasing to the eye. Vaults must be made in the rear of the line and covered every day. The slaughtering penns must be placed at a proper distance; and every other precaution should be taken which may contribute to cleanliness and health. No soldier or other person is to bathe at the public ferry or within the basin contiguos to it on either side the river. The sentries at the ferry stairs will see this order executed. The men are not to be suffered to go into the water at other places between the hours of nine o'clock A.M. and five in the afternoon; nor are they at any time, to continue in but a few minutes. . . ."[69]

A French officer's eyewitness account of the encampment and the appearance of the American army provides an interesting and enlightening commentary:

> "I found the American Army encamped at a place called Verplank's Point. It consisted of about six thousand men, who, for the first time since the beginning of the war, were decently uniformed, well armed, properly equipped and camped in tents of a regular model. All the soldiers seemed to me good looking, robust and well chosen. The sentinels were well equipped very attentive, sufficiently well disciplined in the use of their arms, and strongly in contrast with the incorrect notions I had formed concerning these troops . . ."[70]

Despite all of the amenities of the camp and the general well-being of the troops, Washington was determined to take every precaution against a surprise attack. Every day the sound of the British evening gun at Kingsbridge was a constant reminder that a powerful enemy force still remained relatively close. No sooner had the troops arrived at Verplank's Point than Washington, on September first, ordered that "A Gen^{l} and two Field Officers of the day are to be appointed They will with the Adj^{t} and Q^{r} M^{r} Gen^{l} be pleased to reconoiter the approaches to this encampment and the whole Extent of the Creek, they will report what piquets and Guards will be Necessary."[71] One of the field officers of the day appointed for the task was Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck of the First New York. The ground was inspected on September second and in order to facilitate their report to the Commander-in-Chief, Washington expected "the pleasure of the Comp^{y} of the Officers of the day at dinner The day they are relieved from Duty."[72] Following the report of Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck and the other field officers, on September third "For the greater security of the Camp the Commander in Chief directs that in addition to the piquets posted at the two bridges one of equal strength be posted on the istmus Between the heads of the two Creeks and a Chain of Sentinals from the beach on Harvistraw bay passing in front of Head Quarters near the morass as far as the Ground is open, thence along the higth Along the Mergin of the Clear^{d} Land untill the line strikes the roade, leadeing to Lents Bridge, thence through a small orchard and roade in the wood to a Landing on the north river."[73] Picquet duties were assigned to the various regiments and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was one of the two field officers who directed the placement of the troops.

On the same day that Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck surveyed the area surrounding the camp, "Three Cannon fired successively from the Block house" was designated as the signal of an alarm. In this event the troops were to assemble in front of their respective encampments and "wait the orders of the Commander-in-Chief."[74]

Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was not the only officer of the First New York to be placed "on duty." On Sunday, September first, orders read that, "The first New York regiment will relieve the picquets at the bridge on the right this evening."[75] Captain Hicks, acting brigade major, was assigned to duty on September third. Following the inspection on Sunday, September eighth, "A detachment from the 1st New York regiment will relieve that from the Rhode Island regiment stationed at Stoney point . . . to remain on that duty seven days."[76] The remainder of the Regiment saw duty again on the tenth when Captain Hicks was also one of the officers of the day. The detachment of the First New York sent to Stony Point on the eighth was relieved by the Second New York on the fifteenth. In addition to the assignment at Stony Point, a portion of the First New York had been stationed at Kakiat (the northern area of present day Spring Valley, Rockland County, New York) and were also relieved by the Second New York on the fifteenth.[77]

On Saturday, September fourteenth, "The whole army was paraded under arms this morning in order to honor his Excellency Count Rochambeau on his arrival from the southward."[78] Orders on Sunday pointed out the primary task for Monday morning and called for "A Field officer, two captains, two subs, eight serjeants, one Drum one fife, and one hundred and twenty rank and file" from the First New York Regiment, "to be at the ferry on the right tomorrow morning by sunrise . . . to man the boats and assist in crossing the French army."[79] At sunset, on the sixteenth, the detachment of the Regiment assigned to the boats was relieved and returned to camp.

On the sixteenth, Ensign Joseph Morrell, brigade quarter master, was one of the duty officers of the day.

The First New York was assigned to duty again on the twentieth. On Saturday, the twenty-eighth, a contingent of the Regiment was ordered to "relieve the men of the Rhode Island regiment on duty at Stoney point and Kakiat at the same time."[80] On the twenty-ninth, the Regiment saw duty again and both Major Graham and Ensign Morrell served as officers of the day.

October saw Colonel Van Schaick again in the field with the Regiment. Both he and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck served as duty officers on October fourth, when Adjutant Jacob Wendell also served at brigade adjutant.[81]

The contingent of the First New York sent to Stony Point and Kakiat on September twenty-eighth was relieved on the fourth of October. The following day, a party of the Regiment was sent on fatigue to West Point.[82] Brigade Quartermaster, Ensign Joseph Morrell, was one of the officers of the day again on the sixth. Colonel Van Schaick was "Duty Officer" on the eighteenth. And so it went from one day to the next.

As always, court-martials continued to be held regularly. Desertion still remained one of the primary offenses. Wilhelmus Keator, private in Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company was found guilty of that offense and "sentenced to receive fifty Lashes on his naked back and twenty-five Lashes each morning after till he shall have received in the whole one hundred Lashes."[83]

The general court-martial held on September third, involving Ensign William Bloodgood of Captain Sytez's Company, was by far the most particular to the First New York Regiment during the encampment at Verplank's Point. Bloodgood had been "In Arrest" since April, when the Regiment was still at Pompton. He was accused of "behaving in a scandalous and infamous manner" during the latter part of January and the beginning of February. More specifically, he was charged with "taking money out of the Drawer in the Bar room of the widow Charity Jacobus in a Clandestine manner. . . ."[84] To make matters worse, when he was "publicly charged therewith", it was said that he did little or nothing "to clear up his Character to the officers of the regiment when brought to an account for such conduct."[85] This would tend, in some measure, to explain his long period of arrest. After due deliberation, the court expressed the opinion "that Ensign Bloodgood did take some money from the widow Jacobus without her knowledge and consent."[86] While "they do not think he took it with an intention ultimately to defraud her", the court branded Bloodgood's conduct "highly reprehensible and unbecoming the Character of an officer. . . ."[87] Insofar as the accusation that he did not exert himself to "clear up his Character" when confronted by the officers of the Regiment, the court indicated that, in its opinion, "Ensign Bloodgood took the measures that were in his power to clear up his Character to the officers."[88]

The court sentenced Ensign Bloodgood "to be repremanded by the Commander in Chief in General Orders."[89] The sentence was carried out on Friday, September thirteenth and Ensign Bloodgood was released from his arrest. Washington was quick to emphasize, however, that he was not in complete agreement with the decision of the court and remarked that, "From a consideration of the circumstances the Commander in Chief cannot but think Ensign Bloodgood is much indebted to the lenity of the court for the mildness of their sentence he hopes this will prove a warning against practices of the like nature in future which tho perhaps committed without a criminal intention have too much the appearance of it."[90]

The incident was not forgotten. In spite of the legal decision, the feeling still persisted in some quarters that Ensign Bloodgood had not only enjoyed the leniency of the court but also that the findings of the court did not truly reflect the circumstances in the case. As a result, Ensign Bloodgood never did return to the Regiment, and he left the service on October first.[91]

The French army moved on to the eastward. Winter was at hand. On Saturday morning, October twenty-sixth, in Dr. Thacher's words; "the left wing of our army, under the command of General Heath, decamped from Verplank's point and marched to the highlands; took our lodging in the woods, without covering, and were exposed to heavy rain during a night and day. Thence we crossed the Hudson to West Point, and marched over the mountain called Butter hill; passed the night in the open field, and the next day reached the ground where we are to erect log huts for our winter quarters, near New Windsor."[92] Doctor Thacher's reference to Butter Hill describes what is known today as Storm King Mountain.

The right wing of the army, including the First New York, was scheduled to follow the next day. Unfortunately, "The Weather being wet and uncomfortable and likely to continue so; the right will not march tomorrow."[93] So read the general orders of the day. On the twenty-seventh, the First New York was assigned "for duty" and Major Graham and Captain Hicks, who was serving as brigade major, were both officers of the day. Nevertheless, it was only a matter of a few days before the right wing was able to move. The First New York, together with the remainder of the New York Brigade, marched "to the Vicinity of New Windsor and commenced the making of Hutts for our accomodation for the Winter near the Road leading to little Britain the residence of Genl James Clinton. . . ."[94]

The location of troops at New Windsor, which became known as the New Windsor Cantonment, represented the final encampment of the Northern Continental army. In the military language of the Eighteenth Century, troops were generally described as being "cantoned" or in "cantonments" when billeted in the houses of an area or when quartered in huts constructed for their shelter. A cantonment was designed for longer occupancy than a camp but did not take on the permanency of barracks. As a general rule, cantonments came into being at the end of a campaign and were usually occupied as winter quarters by a relatively large concentration of troops. During its existence, the Continental Army undertook four major cantonments; the first at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777–1778, the second at Morristown, New Jersey during the winter of 1778–1779, the third at Morristown during the winter of 1779–1780 and the final New Windsor cantonment during the winter of 1782–1783. The New Windsor Cantonment was the Continental Army's finest, most comfortable and well-appointed encampment.

Between seven and eight thousand soldiers were "cantoned" at New Windsor and regiments from New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maryland were represented. The Rhode Island Regiment had gone north and the Connecticut Regiments were stationed on the east side of the Hudson River opposite West Point.

The site of the New Windsor Cantonment was selected for a number of

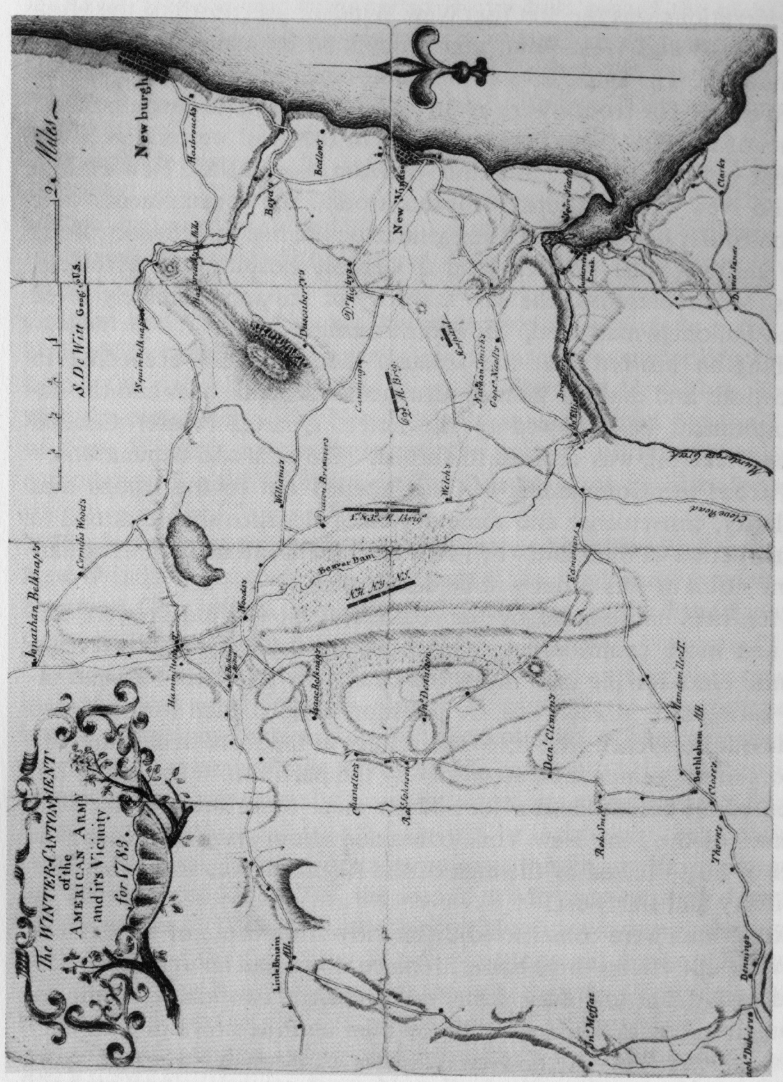
reasons. To the north and west lay rolling farm country which meant an adequate supply of food and forage. Sufficient water was at hand. Ample timber was available for the construction of huts and for fuel. Transportation on the Hudson River was easily accessible. Not the least of considerations was the fact that New Windsor was north of the Hudson Highlands and West Point and thought to be relatively safe from sudden attack. The entire area of the cantonment covered some sixteen hundred acres. The troops were arranged in three general encampments. The huts of the First New York were part of the most westerly encampment and were positioned, in a line, between those of the New Hampshire and New Jersey troops.[95] In and around the encampments were numerous other buildings including guardhouses, markets, headquarters of the various Staff Officers and a sizeable hospital. Nevertheless, soldiers' huts represented the vast majority of the approximately seven hundred buildings making up the cantonment.

Washington insisted that the soldiers' huts be built according to specifications and that the plan of arrangement for the huts and the entire cantonment be followed to the letter. Quarter Master General Timothy Pickering was ordered to furnish "the plan and dementions." Orders from the Commander-in-Chief spelled out to the troops that "'regularity, convenience and some degree of elegance should attend to the construction of their hutts . . . Any huts that shall be built irregularly, in violation of this order will be demolished."[96]

The log huts constructed by the soldiers at New Windsor were different and more commodious than those constructed at former cantonments. Huts for the men measured twenty by thirty-six feet and included a fireplace at each end. A partition divided each hut into two separate quarters, each with its own entrance at the front of the hut with the doors in the center separated only by the partition.[97] The entire hut represented an accomodation for sixteen men. Since most of the nine companies of the First New York contained about sixty men each, the number of huts utilized by the men of the Regiment was somewhere between thirty and thirty-six.

Officers' huts were constructed differently from those of the enlisted men. While all officers' huts had a fireplace, some had an upstairs or second floor. A front and back door, each between two glazed windows, was common.[98] In accordance with the plan and the prevailing military custom, officers' huts at the New Windsor cantonment were set apart from those of the soldiers.

Eastward from the encampment of the First New York, on the swampy ground of the Beaver Dam Meadow, the terrain gently sloped upward for about two thousand yards to the crest of the hill. The huts of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Regiment were ar-


The WINTER-CANTONMENT of the AMERICAN ARMY and its Vicinity for 1783.
S. De Witt Geog' U.S.
Miles
Newburgh
New Windsor

Plan of the New Windsor Cantonment, 1782–83. Courtesy New-York Historical Society.

ranged in two precise lines. A short distance to the rear and uphill from the lines of soldiers' huts stood a line of huts occupied by the company officers—captains and subalterns (Lieutenants and Ensigns.) Somewhat further back were the huts of the field officers: Colonel Van Schaick in the center; Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck on the right and Major Graham on the left. General Washington was very clear in his instructions that "all regimental officers are to encamp and hut with their respective Corps."[99]

To some extent, the layout and arrangement of the New Windsor cantonment followed Baron von Steuben's regulations of 1779 in which he set forth a well-devised plan for a sanitary, orderly and well-located camp. William Tarbell's sketch depicting the position and lines of huts in large measure corroborates the use of von Steuben's plan.

Simultaneous to the arrival of the troops at New Windsor on October twenty-eighth, the Light Infantry was assigned to duty in the "Lines", stretching from Stony Point eastward across Westchester County. Washington pointed out the "necessity for keeping the Light Companies of the Army advanced" and indicated that "the regiments to which they belong are to make provision for building hutts for them."[100] The soldiers were not inclined to build huts for other than their own immediate use. The order to see that the light companies were provided for was the occasion for some grumbling among the men and, in some instances, work on the huts of the light infantry all but came to a halt. General Washington was not disposed to look upon the task as a hardship and directed the Regiments to "go on compleating the hutts of the light companies."[101] By November twentieth, the light infantry huts were almost complete and the Commander-in-Chief expressed his intention "in a few days to relieve the Light Infantry now on the Lines, with a considerable Detachment from this Army. . . ."[102]

All of the huts "were not quite finished" when, on December seventh, the Marquis de Chastellux toured the cantonment area and remarked that the huts ". . . are spacious, healthy and well built, and consist in a row of log houses containing two chambers, each inhabited by eight soldiers when complete, which makes commonly from five to six effectives; a second range of barracks is destined for the non-commissioned officers."[103] Sometime after the entire cantonment had been completed, General Washington expressed his pleasure at the results and noted that "every time the Commander-in-Chief passes through the line he finds himself very agreably affected with a view of the present comfortable and beautifull situation of the troops . . . the hutts in point of convenience, regularity and eligance have equaled, if not surpassed his most sanquine expectations. . . ."[104]

The season was advancing rapidly. The cold weather was to become "very severe" in a matter of a few weeks. Sensitive to the comfort of the troops during the period while the huts were being constructed, Washington had given permission for the men "to put Chimneys to their tents; and make themselves comfortable in them 'till their hutts can be built."[105] This created obvious problems and it was only a few days afterwards that he had to remind the officers "to be very attentive in seeing that the tops of the Chimneys are carried above the tents, to prevent their being scorched by the heat or fired by the Sparks."[106]

Command of the "army in Quarters" was assigned by Washington to several of the general officers. The New Windsor cantonment was "under the orders of Major General Gates."[107] The New York Brigade was part of the command of Major General Arthur St. Clair.

In some respects, discipline at the cantonment was becoming a problem. The men seemed to bear a sense of abandon and a feeling that because, for all practical purposes, the conflict seemed to be finished, strict adherence to regulations was no longer necessary. The soldiers had been unruly before and on previous occasions the problem had reached alarming proportions. Nevertheless, while the situation was not unique, General Washington, as always, was duly concerned and expressed his displeasure at finding "the country covered, and the Farm Houses crowded with soldiers who are comitting wanton instances of plunder and outrage, to the great inconvenience and injury of the Inhabitants as well as relaxation of decipline."[108] Indeed, Washington was well aware that the army had come through seven hard, long years with many privations and trying times. He was sympathetic to the feelings of the men and expressed his hope that "the occasion for Courtsmartial will be daily diminished."[109] At the same time, the Commander-in-Chief was unwilling to permit any breakdown in discipline. While considering "it essential to the existance of an army that the severest and most exemplary punishment should be inflicted on atrocious offences", Washington expressed the desire that "proper distinction may always be made between enormous and premeditated crimes and slight offences, which are committed through Levity and inconsideration."[110] Despite all of Washington's exhortations, the nightly marauding and breaches of discipline continued. On November fourteenth, Washington called a meeting of the general officers explaining that, "the enormities which have been committed, and daily committing by the soldiery since we have quitted the Field are scandalous beyond description and a disgrace to an Army; they must and shall be corrected. . . ."[111]

It was not long before corrective measures were forthcoming. On the nineteenth, "to surpress the practice of Marauding."[112]

> "The Rolls are to be called at least four times in every twenty four hours not at any stated hour but as the commanding officers of regimts. shall direct.
>
> If the Commanding officer of a regiment suspects that soldiers have left their companies in the night to go marauding he will order a Catchroll to be called turning all the men out upon the regemental parade, such as are absent to be punished at troop beating.
>
> The Granting passes permitting noncommissioned officers and soldiers to goe beyond the limits of the camp to be confined to the Generals and officers commanding regiments.
>
> Each Brigade will furnish a Patroll . . . one half to march to the right the other to the left. All prisoners they have apprehended are to be examined and if found delinquent punished immediately on the spot with any number of lashes not exceeding one hundred . . .
>
> Such as are detected with the Goods and property of the Inhabitants in their possession are to be reserved to be tried for their Lives by a General Courtmartial.
>
> The officers commanding these patrols are as soon as relieved to report to the Field Officer of the day."

Obviously, Washington intended that the situation be corrected with dispatch. It is understandable and indeed interesting to note that the field officer appointed for duty on the first full day on which the new instructions were to take effect was an officer whose reputation as a disciplinarian was well known, Colonel Goose Van Schaick.[113]

Among those soldiers of the First New York who had been apprehended for committing outrages on the local inhabitants were John Abel, John Cogdon and Philip King, all privates in Captain Leonard Bleeker's Light Infantry Company. A general court-martial held at West Point on November eighteenth had found all three men guilty of "being out of camp at an unseasonable hour and killing an ox belonging to an inhabitant, on the night of the 11th. . . ."[114] The sentence—which General Washington approved—"each to receive one hundred lashes on his naked back."[115]

As the troops settled down to the routine of camp life, a number of things had to be determined and set forth. Now that the campaign was over, furloughs were uppermost in the minds of many of the men. To be sure that prudence was not abused and that an inordinate number of men would not be away at any one time, orders spelled out the procedure for granting furloughs. "One Field Officer from a regiment; One officer, one Noncommissioned officer (Serjeants corporals and musick being included in that denomination) and two privates from each Company. Regimental Staff only when they procure an officer to do their duty from a company with which there are actually two officers present."[116] No furlough was to extend beyond April fifteenth. Soldiers who had "merited the badges of distinction for long and faithful services" were to receive preference. "Printed furloughs" were given to all noncommissioned officers and soldiers. Washington was quick to warn the officers that after the proper number of soldiers had gone on furlough, the granting of further passes to circumvent regulations would not be tolerated and that ". . . upon the discovery of any such attempt the officer concerned shall be arrested and tried for disobedience of orders."[117]

Permission for officers' furloughs was to come from either General Gates, General Lord Stirling, General Knox or General Hazen "in their respective commands." Officers were given some leeway in respect to time and length of furloughs. It was understood, however, that "a strict compliance with the terms of absence will be expected from all."[118]

No men of the First New York had been away on furlough since the nineteen men so recorded from Pompton in March. During November, the men were busy building their huts and few could be spared. December was different. After the huts were completed, thirty-two soldiers of the Regiment were granted a furlough. Some of the officers of the First New York had received a furlough during the year. Most of the officers' furloughs took place in January or February while the Regiment was at Pompton and relatively few occurred between March and December. During October and November, Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck was the only officer on leave. In December, however, the Lieutenant Colonel returned to the Regiment and the following officers were furloughed, most of them until April fifteenth of next year: Captain Leonard Bleeker; Lieutenants Jacob H. Wendell, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Abraham Hardenburgh and Josiah Bagley; Ensigns John Fondey, Robert Wilson and Gerrit Lansing and Surgeon's Mate John Elliot.[119]

Sutlers had to be agreed upon and properly licensed. Only those persons so licensed were permitted to sell to the soldiers and to set up facilities for that purpose. Rules regarding sutlers were strictly enforced, particularly where liquor was involved. Some sutlers had recently been expelled from West Point for "improper conduct" and had moved their activities to the vicinity of the New Windsor Cantonment. It had been observed that a number of huts were "erecting" for sutlers, including some of those driven from West Point. In order to prevent a mishap, it was made very clear to all that, unless properly licensed, any person found selling "liquors" to the soldiers "will have them seized and confiscated for public use and their houses, if they have any, instantly pulled down. . . ."[120] In addition, officers commanding brigades were to consult with their regimental commanders and to provide the quarter master general with a list of "the number and names of those who are to be allowed to suttle. . . ."[121]

With General James Clinton away, command of the New York Brigade rested with Colonel Van Schaick. In compliance with orders, Colonel Van Cortlandt submitted the names of those individuals whom he suggested be made sutlers for his regiment. The result was a brief, handwritten note by Colonel Van Schaick to General Gates indicating that John Bailey and Robert Gorden "are the Suttlers for the Second N. York Regiment . . . Col. Cortlandt recommended Bailey and Gorden to be license Sutlers to his Regt. Mr. Bailey having been his Sutler for a long time."[122] It was not long before one of the three designated market places throughout the cantonment "to which Provisions of all kinids intended for sale to the troops are to be brought" was established "in the front of the interval between the New Jersey and New York brigades. . . ."[123] Irregularities seemed endless and it was only a month after the market was established that General Washington had to call the officers together "to consult and establish some more particular regulations respecting the sutlers and markets of the Army."[124]

The clothing situation was not so bad as it had been at other times. Nevertheless, this was by no means to indicate that all items were in ample supply. Shoes were always needed. Woolen overalls and the thirty watch coats to be furnished to each regiment had not yet arrived. As Washington pointed out, "The advanced Season requires the utmost dispatch."[125] The announcement by the "Clothier General" that "he can make a distribution of shoes, stockings, and a few blankets to the troops . . ."[126] was helpful.

While shirts were on the way, "Many Soldiers have not a single one."[127] Every effort was made "to have them forwarded as fast as they are made up."[128] Some shirts did arrive, and Washington took some pleasure in announcing that, "a delivery of two shirts per man will shortly be made to the whole Army."[129] Sometime after making the announcement, the Commander-in-Chief was distressed to learn that a considerable portion of the shirts, which were made in Philadelphia, were delayed in transportation. Consequently, lots were drawn by the regiments for those shirts on hand.

The one item of clothing which was the subject of more discussion than any other was the regimental uniform coat. "The Coats of most part of the Army are yet exceedingly good, and if thread can be furnished to mend them this Winter, they will still be servicable in the Spring."[130] General Washington's remark about the regimental coats, while it did give some indication as to the present circumstances, was a generalization and was certainly not true in the case of every regiment. Only a few days later, the Commander-in-Chief called to the attention of the Secretary of War the fact that, "The Coats of some Corps will be intirely worn out in the course of the Winter, and none will be fit for service at the time which the Army may be expected to take the field."[131] Adding confusion to the situation was the fact that a change in the facings of the whole army to red was under consideration. It will be recalled that the Uniform Regulations of 1779 called for blue coats with a diversity of facing colors depending upon the area from which the regiments emanated. Under these regulations, the colors of the First New York coats, as well as those of all the New York regiments, were designated as blue-faced buff.

In early November, Washington wrote to the Secretary of War. "If it should be determined to change the facings of the whole Army to Red, will it not be best, to signify the same as soon as possible, That the Officers may make their arrangements accordingly. I would be glad to know what are our prospects of Uniform Cloathing for the next Campaign and if the materials are on hand, whether any steps are taking for making them up."[132] A month later and still no decision, Washington wrote again. "Many officers have been applying to me to know whether the Facings of the whole Army are to be Red, as they want to make their arrangements accordingly if it is to be so."[133] Two days after the Commander-in-Chief's second communication to the Secretary of War, on December sixth, general orders from headquarters at Newburgh told the story. "The Honorable Secretary at war having been pleased to direct that the Uniform of the American Cavalry and Invantry shall in future be blue ground with red facings and white Linings and buttons; The General gives this early notice that provision may be made accordingly before the army shall receive their cloathing for the present year."[134]

The impression was apparently created that all regimental coats were to be the same in details, other than color. A certain amount of confusion existed in the minds of some of the officers as nothing had been spelled out along these lines. As soon as the matter was brought to his attention, Washington quickly clarified the situation. "By the order of the 6th instant respecting uniformity of cloathing for the army the General did not propose that the coats should all be made in the same mode; on the contrary he wishes Commanding officers of the different lines and corps would agree among themselves on such distinctions as may be deemed proper in the fashion of the Lapels, Cuffs, buttons, &ca."[135]

Two particular observations seem appropriate relative to the First New York Regiment. Regimental coats were too difficult to come by, even at this late stage, to be discarded or their use discontinued because of color. Those with buff facings, cuffs and linings continued to be used as long as they were serviceable. Material of the proper color to make up the new coats was not always immediately available, and more often than not new coats were slow in preparation. In the considerations for arriving at some uniformity in regimental coats throughout the army, the decision to keep the blue coats and the selection of red for the facings, collars and cuffs extended the continuity of the uniforms of the First New York.

Encampment at New Windsor brought about no basic changes in the lives of the soldiers or the routine of the Regiment. The soldiers' practice

of "firing away their ammunition at Game"[136] still continued despite long standing orders to the contrary. Cartridge inspections still had to be conducted by the regimental officers and a report submitted as to the number and state of the cartridges actually in possession of each regiment including the First New York.

Every Saturday, Doctor Caleb Sweet filed a report indicating the name and number of sick soldiers in the First New York Regiment.

Exclusive of the Light Company, the Regiment was "Mustered for the Month of November" on December first.[137] Captain Bleekers's Light Infantry Company followed the same procedure on Friday, December thirteenth.[138]

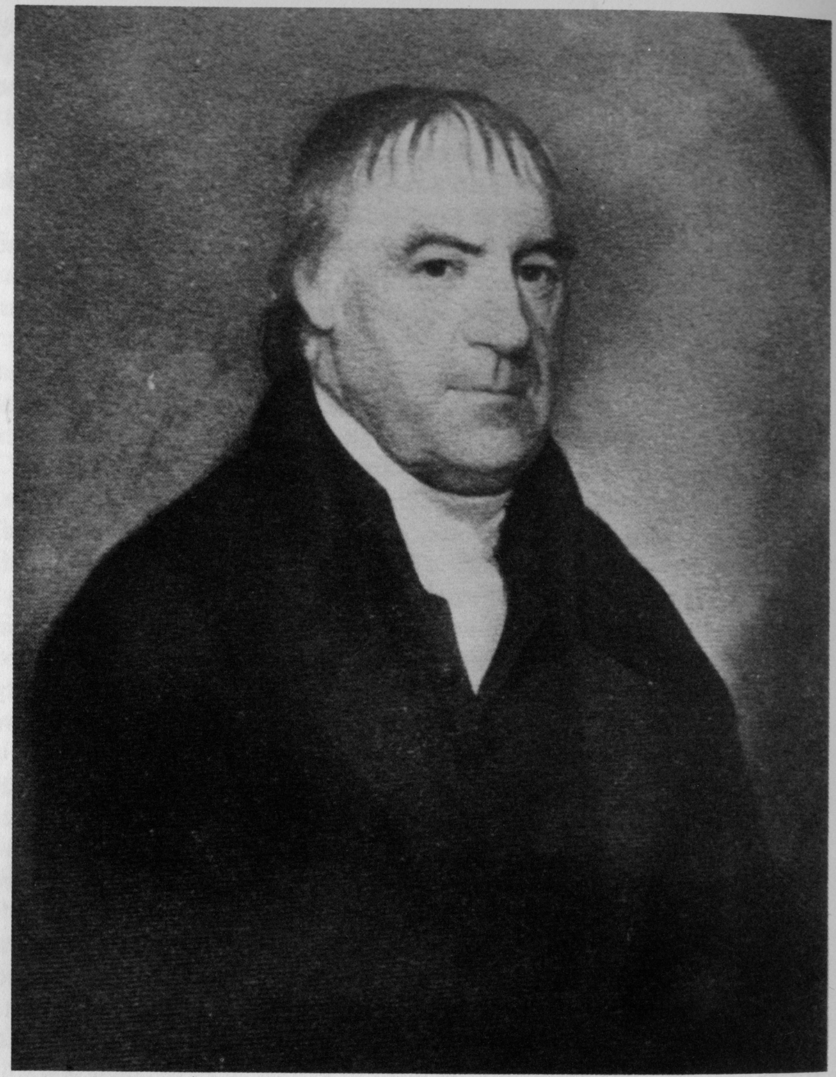
The First New York supplied a number of artificers to the garrison at West Point, particularly from Captain Jansen's Company.[139] Privates Michael Poulson, Christian Schriver, Peter Crapo and Solomon Meeker were among those artificers assigned to West Point.

The Regiment drew "Duty" assignments on October twenty-seventh, November tenth, twenty-fifth and again on December tenth. Colonel Van Schaick was field officer of the day on November twentieth, December eleventh, nineteenth and twenty-eighth. On November twenty-sixth and December fifteenth, Major Graham was "on Duty." Again on Christmas Eve, in miserable weather, the Major was assigned as one of the officers of the day. Intervals between duty assignments were usually about seven or eight days. New Year's Day saw Major Graham in the same capacity.[140]

The Major was also a part of other, more pleasant occasions. General Washington frequently entertained various of the Officers for dinner at Head Quarters in Newburgh. A small group of officers dining with the Commander-in-Chief at the Hasbrouck House on the evening of December sixth included Major John Graham of the First New York.[141]

The final weeks of 1782 were, in many respects, a period of watchful waiting. The passage of time and some of the events in both England and America seemed to favor the American cause. Keenly aware of events unfolding around him, General Washington expressed his purpose and the posture of the Continental Army:

> "To wait Events, and profit by the Occasions which may occur, I have concentred the Army to a point as much as possible. At West Point and the Cantonment 4 Miles from this place is our whole force, except the Rhode Island Regt at the Northwd and one or two Corps on the Lines. This army indeed is not numerous, but the efficient strength is greater in proportion to the total Number, than ever it has been; the Troops are tolerably well appointed, and have improved very much in their discipline during the last Campaign."[142]



Captain Leonard Bleeker, circa 1825.
Courtesy New-York Historical Society, New York.

NINE

1783

The Reverend Israel Evans, onetime chaplain in the First New York, proposed the construction of a "Public Building" at the New Windsor Cantonment, the primary purpose being to provide a place for divine worship, together with other suitable gatherings. The idea appealed to Washington and on Christmas Day 1782, he agreed to a meeting of officers to "determin on the situation and place for it."[1] The meeting scheduled for the twenty-sixth was cancelled because of bad weather. The officers gathered at General Gates' headquarters on the twenty-seventh, however, and plans were immediately initiated for the construction of the building. By January fifth, it was "expected that all the materials for the Public Building requested in the estimate sent to each Regiment, will be collected on the spot by Wednesday next. . . ."[2] The building was to be erected by the soldiers under the direction of "Colonel Tupper of the Massachussits Line."

The First New York provided its share of the artisans to assist in the construction. ". . . 2 privates who are Carpenters, one private . . . who is a Mason 3 privates . . . to attend the Masons. . . ."[3] Each regiment provided tools. From the First New York ". . . one Crosscut saw, one adds, and as many Inch and Half Augers as can conveniently be spared."[4] Various details and fatigue parties worked continually and ". . . One Non Commissioned officer and 12 Privates, with 2 hand-sleds . . . to collect stones for Chimneys and under Pinning the Public Building"[5] was only one example of the Regiment's part in the project. Lumber and shingles were to be cut and trimmed to specifications by the men and delivered to the site according to a strict schedule. The soldiers were provided with incentives for prompt and speedy completion of assignments. "They will be furnished with One gill of Rum and half a ration extrodinary on the Spot."[6]

Progress was rapid. By January twenty-ninth, plans had been finalized for the celebration of the alliance with France to be held on February sixth. Included in the preliminaries was the announcement that General Washington ". . . will be happy to see not only the officers of the Cantonment but all the Gentlemen of the Army, and other Gentlemen and Ladies, who can attend with conveniency at the Public building where a cold Colation will be provided."[7] For all practical purposes, the "Temple" or public building was complete.

As part of the response to the need for furniture, on February twenty-seventh, "Each Company" of the First New York was instructed to "make one bench by tomorrow Evening according to the Dimentions hereafter Mentioned Eight feet four Inches long, Eleven inches wide and eighteen Inches high with two legs exactly one foot from each end with a Supporter in the middle."[8]

"The Month of January, 1783 found us in Hutts of our own making as comfortable as troops could expect without pay, Scanty of provisions at times, and also in want of Suficient clothing, however better than we had formerly experienced. . . ."[9] The huts were occupied as soon as they were completed and the regimental orders of January seventh instructed the commanding officers of companies of the First New York to "return in the whole of their Marques & Tents to the Regimental Q Master by Tomorrow 12 o'clock."[10]

The proper upkeep of the huts and the general appearance of the area required the constant attention of the officers who were "to Visit the Barracks of the Non Commis- Officers and Soldiers, to see that the Barracks are Swept, and beds kept decent and bedding aired when the weather will permit of it—Utensils clean and in their proper places their Messes regular their provision well cook'd and served up in due Season."[11] On more than one occasion, a Regiment fatigue party was assigned to the task of fixing small poles to stakes at a "respectable distance in front" of the huts for the purpose of airing the men's blankets, weather permitting.

Racks for muskets and arms were supposed to be a part of each hut. When Major Graham became aware that racks had not been included in some of the huts of the First New York, he ordered them "Completed Immediately."[12]

It was not particularly unusual to find "the Soldier Hutts dirty and in bad order & in general a Quantity of Filth between them."[13] Orders clearly prohibited the throwing of rubbish and "filth" in the area of the huts and the guards were instructed to enforce the regulations with vigor. A typical example of a duty performed by the men of the First New York with some regularity, was that carried out under the supervision of Lieutenant Benjamin Gilbert on March twenty fifth. "All the Men of duty tomorrow Morning will be employed in Repairing the parade and Removing the dirt in front of the hutts, each Comp^{y} will perform thr duty in front and rear of their Own hutts, One Officer will Superintend their respective Men this fatigue to continue untill the Business is Compleated."[14]

The parade ground, guard houses and other areas all required the same attention. Some of the concerns had a direct bearing on the "health and Comfort of the Soldiery." The sentinel on the parade ground was given specific orders not to permit ". . . any Person to Ease themselves In front of the parade Except at the proper Necessarys."[15] It also followed that, "Not only the Parade in front of the Cantonment is to be kept constantly clean and free from Nusances, but also the rear and intermediate space between the hutts to be put and kept in the same condition: to effect this the small brush and rubbish must be immediately removed to a suitable distance, and either burned, or piled in heaps and reserved for firing, as may be deemed most expedient."[16] The condition of the guard houses was the subject of a report to the field officer of the day each morning at the "New building." Standing orders required the removal of "every nusence within 20 yds" of each of the guard houses.[17] Despite all of the difficulties, the appearance and condition of the camp at the New Windsor Cantonment was generally good and Washington signified his satisfaction therewith on several occasions.

General Washington was enthusiastic about the soldiers' creation of regimental gardens "for the purpose of raising Greens and Vegetables for their own use." He even expressed the hope that the men might find such a project "a Matter of Amusement and Emulation." A number of men of the First New York, together with those of each of the other regiments, were sent out into the countryside to collect a "sufficient quantity of Garden Seeds." As soon as the seeds were obtained and the weather was suitable, a Regimental fatigue party consisting of one subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal and thirty-six men prepared the ground and completed the planting.[18]

Part of the soldiers' regular routine at the New Windsor cantonment was attendance at "divine service." This was by no means a new requirement but in the prevailing, relatively unharassed circumstances, it took on an even greater importance. Washington expected strict attendance in this regard and as soon as the "Public Building" was sufficiently completed "to admit the troops to attend public worship therein . . .", he directed that "divine Service should be performed there every Sunday by the several Chaplains of the New Windsor Cantonment. . . ."[19] The different brigades and regiments attended at various hours during the same day. For the First New York, service was usually in the early afternoon and regimental orders often indicated that, "The fatigues to be discontinued untill further Orders & NonCommis^{d} Officers and privates to be employed in cleaning their Arms, Accoutrem^{ts} and Cloathing so as to appear in perfect order for devine service."[20]

During the entire period of the encampment at New Windsor, more men of the Regiment received a furlough simultaneously than at any other time. For the month of January, forty-two officers and men of the First New York were away on furlough. The following roll,[21] signed by Captain Jansen and Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, shows the distribution of furloughs throughout the Regiment together with some interesting remarks regarding two soldiers from the second company (Captain Jansen's) who returned late. Worthy of note is the fact that four men had recently "Returned from Captivity" and rejoined the Regiment, particularly Sergeant Thompson (Tamson; Thomas) Bacon who had been taken prisoner at Fort Schuyler on July 23, 1779:

Companies	*Names*	*Rank*	*Remarks*
Light Infantry	Leonard Bleeker	Captain	
	Thomas Bacon	Sergeant	Returned from Captivity
	John Hurtack	Private	
	Nicholas Keltz	do	
	Charles F. Brown	do	
First Company	Abm. Hardenbergh	Lieut.	
	Levi Sterling	Sergeant	
	Conradt France	Private	
	John Shirlock	do	
Second Company	Cornl^{s} T. Jansen	Captain	
	Hugh McColby	Sergeant	
	Philip Badingor	Corporal	See remark at bottom
	Hugh McConnery	Fifer	
	Jacob Slayter	Private	
	Joseph Evans	do	
Third Company	John Fonda (Fondey)	Ensign	
	Ezekiel Lathers	Private	
	Peter Sherman	do	
	Henry Wheeler	do	Returned from Captivity
Fourth Company	Christopher Capelman	Private	
	Emanuel Adams	do	
	Martin Flick	do	
	? McKengin	do	Joined previous to his death
	Christopher Chilner	do	
Fifth Company	Gerrit Lansing	Ensign	
	James Patterson	Sergeant	
	William Rude	Private	
	Walker Pratt	do	
Sixth Company	John Marsh	Ensign	
	John Ernest Pier	Sergeant	
	George Alkizer	Corporal	
	Baring Griffiths	Private	Returned from Captivity
	Martin Van Slyck	Private	
	Francis Achlim	do	Returned from Captivity
	George Witherwick	do	
Seventh Company	Laurence Van Klief	Private	
	William Grote	do	
	Jeremiah Weldon	do	
Eighth Company	Michael Fleming	Sergeant	
	Jotham Prindle	Private	
	Gerrit Neffe	do	
	Edward McGerrike	do	

> "M B — Philip Badinger Corpl 2nd Comp^{y} Returned deserted preduced a certificate by which it appears that he was prevented by sickness from joining at the limited time - Jacob Shyler a private in 2^{d} Company also Returned deserted was prevented and detained by the badness of the roads & high waters but joined a few hours after Muster."

It was to be expected that some men of the Regiment would not return from their leave of absence and would ultimately have to be listed as deserters. In some respects, this presented a dilemma for Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck and Major Graham, the field officers most often concerned with furloughs. Regulations governing furloughs had been established several months ago. Supposedly, additional men could not be given a leave of absence until the return of a number of those presently away. General Washington was aware of the situation and indicated that, ". . . where men indulged with furloughs have not returned, but are struck off the Rolls as deserters, others who would have received leave of absence upon their return may be furloughed notwithstanding. . . ."[22] The General, however, placed the responsibility firmly on the shoulders of the regimental commanders to recommend no men for a furlough "for whose fidelity they cannot absolutely be responsible. . . ."[23]

As previously noted, the field officers, too, had channels through which permission for furloughs were to be obtained. On March twenty-fifth, Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck's absence drew the attention of the Commander-in-Chief who inquired of General Dayton ". . . by whose leave Lt. Colonel Van Dyck of the New York Line is now absent from the Army."[24] The inquiry was in turn directed to Colonel Van Schaick who promptly solicited an explanation from the Lieutenant Colonel. Colonel Van Schaick's reply to General Washington included Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck's written explanation of the circumstances indicating that:

> "On the 15th of March last at the Publick Building I obtained Permission from General Gates to absent Myself from Camp until the 15th of this Month but Unavoidable Circumstances prevented me from Attending on the General before he left the Army to Obtain a

> Written Furlough, Induced me to Apply to General Dayton on whom I supposed the Command of Gen^{l} Gates had devolved Stating the Case how I had obtained Consent & how Matters were Circumstances on or about the 23 of March Gen^{l} Dayton Acquainted me that he had no objection to my leve of Absence in Consequence of which I have made a Visit to my family but had I in the least doubted the propriaty or validity of the permission I should Certainly have Aplyed to Head Quarters."[25]

The incident, while certainly not momentous, gives some indication as to the nature of minor misunderstandings and some feel for the shift of command at New Windsor as the final days approached.

Particularly during the winter months, it often happened that almost all of the chaplains were away from camp at the same time "under an idea their presence could not be of any utility at that season. . . ."[26] Washington reserved that judgement for himself and required permission for furloughs for all chaplains be obtained from headquarters. Further, he indicated that "in addition to their public functions" the chaplains would be expected to attend the hospitals and the sick. General Washington's admonition to the chaplains had no direct effect on the Regiment since the First New York had not had a regimental chaplain since Reverend Israel Evans had left prior to Colonel Van Schaick's taking command.

The musicians of each regiment were inspected regularly and the "Inspector of Musick" was instructed to "be present at every Regiment & Corps with the Inspector of the Arms—to examine into the State of the musick and the number of Instruments. . . ."[27] A report was forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief at the conclusion of each inspection. Those drummers or fifers who were without the instruments provided at public expense were subject to pay stoppages. Weather permitting, the drummers of the First New York practiced for one hour each day under the watchful eye of Regimental Drum Major William Lowdon. Regimental Fife Major William Dougherty was similarly expected to see that the fifers in the Regiment were properly equipped and drilled. One of the assignments given to the musicians of the First New York was "to appear on the parade at every Roll call with their instruments and to play from the first drums call to the finishing of the retreat at evening only."[28]

In a camp such as the New Windsor Cantonment, fatigue details were a regular part of the daily routine. The soldiers grumbled but they expected to work. In all armies, particularly in winter quarters, some work assignments were designed to keep the men busy; others were directed to the accomplishment of a particular project. Many times the posting of fatigue orders did not indicate what was to be done. The following are typical examples of such orders posted in the First New York:

> "Regimental Orders—Head Quarters, N Burgh 21 Jan^{y} 83
> A fatigue party Consisting of one Serg^{t} & 12 privates to parrade Tommorrow Morning at Roll Calling"[29]

> "Regimental Orders—Head Quarters, Newburgh 22 Jan^{y} 1782
> A fatigue party of One Serjeant and Twelve privates will parade at Revelle beating tomorrow Morning—the Serj^{t} who commands will call on Lieut Furman for Instructions"[30]

> "Regimental Orders—Head Q^{rs} N Burgh March 21st 1783
> A Fatigue Party Consisting of 1 Sub^{l}. 1 Serj^{t} 1 Corp^{l}—and 34 Privates will Parade tomorrow Morning at Roll Calling, Ensign D. Fonda will Command This party, who will call on the Comm^{dt} for instructions."[31]

The following are fatigue orders posted in the Regiment by Major Graham which indicate what is to be done:

> "Regimental Orders—Head Quarters Newburgh 17th Feb^{y} 1783
> A Serjeant Corporal & thirty privates will parade in future at Morning roll Call for the purpose of Cleaning the parade and between the Officers hutts. . . ."[32]

> "Regimental Orders—Head Qua^{rs} N Burgh 7th Ap^{l} 1783
> A fatigue party of One Capt one Sub^{n}two Serj^{ts}. two Corpl^{s} and 80 Men to parade Every Morning at Roll Calling for the purpose of Levelling the Parade—the Officers with this party will be particular in not sufficing their Men to Absent themselves without Bringing them to Instant Punishment."[33]

Some assignments were obviously of longer duration than others and while the orders did not specify the assignment, one or more days' provisions were indicated. The subsequent orders, issued to the First New York by Major Graham, are illustrations:

> "Regimental Orders—Head Quarters N Bourgh March 14th 1783
> A detachmen of One Captain one subalton two Serjeants two Corp^{ls} and fitey three privates will perade tomorrow Morning with two Days provisions—the Commanding will Call on the Commd^{t} for Instructions—For Detachment-Capt. Aorson - En^{s} Willson.[34]

> "Regimental Orders—Head Quart^{s} 27 March 83
> A Sub^{n} — one Serj^{t} — one Corp^{l}. and 36 to parade tomorrow Morning for Fatigue at Revelle beating with one days provision, the Officer Commanding will call on the Comm^{dt} this evening for Instructions, each man to be furnished with a good Knapsack. . . ."[35]

In some fatigue assignments, the First New York was performing its part of an over-all effort along with all of the other Regiments making up the Cantonment. Assignments in connection with the construction of the "Public Building" or "Temple" are good examples and one such order read:

> "On friday Morning next each Regiment is to deliver at the frame of the building 270 Laths split out of shingle timber they are to be Exactly four feet long One Inch thick upon one Edge, and not less than one third of an Inch on the other Edge, For every 50 Good Laths thus delivered, a Gill of Rum and one half ration of Provision will be allowed."[36]

In one other instance the men of the First New York were to "square and deliver at Newbuilding" thirteen pieces of timber, thirty one feet long and seven inches square.[37]

One notice which needed no explanation stated that,

> "No fatigue except on Extra Occasion nor General reviews or Inspection will be permitted on the Sabath Day."[38]

Wednesday and Saturday of each week were market days at the Cantonment and were so advertised. The inhabitants were encouraged to bring their "provisions, Roots, Vegetables &c" for sale to the Soldiers.[39] It was the Commander-in-Chief's feeling that the arrangement would "be found very convenient and useful to both the Country and the Army. . . ."[40] One particular problem developed in regard to markets. When the "Country people come to the Hutts marketing they are frequently maltreated and plundered by the soldiers. . . ."[41] The action on the part of the soldiers tended to discourage the inhabitants from returning again to the cantonment. In order to prevent this abuse and to encourage the local inhabitants to bring their produce to the cantonment markets for sale, proper guards had to be provided and officers were designated to "superintend the Markets and preserve good order." Proper punishment was to be inflicted upon any soldier "on the spot" for "any imposition, fraud or other abuse" in order that "the example may be held out as a terror to others."[42]

The First New York had its offenders. Privates Robert Chase and William Worddle of Captain Aorson's Company were each sentenced to one hundred lashes for "being concern'd in plundering an Inhabitant" and Corporal John McLean of Captain Aorson's Company was reduced to a "private Centinel" for "suffering a market man to be plundered In his presence without attempting to put a stop to it or bring the offenders to Justice. . . ."[43]

Buying and selling between soldiers and the inhabitants did not always take place in the designated market places and did not always involve the soldiers buying from the inhabitants. General Washington was disturbed by reports that "the soldiers are daily cutting wood in the neighborhood of camp, transporting it to New Windsor on hand sleds and selling it to the inhabitants."[44] He was well aware that other improper transactions were also taking place between the soldiers and the inhabitants and indicated that "in order to put a stop to an evil which I am apprehensive will otherwise be of very pernicious consequences, it is my earnest wish and desire, that effectual Measures might be taken to prevent the Inhabitants from purchasing or receiving in any other manner, Articles of public property that may be in possession of the Soldiery."[45]

A perfect example of what General Washington was referring to was Solomon Jennings, private in Captain Tiebout's Company of the Regiment, who was accused of stealing a regimental coat and a pair of stockings from Isaac Burch, a member of the same company, and "Selling the Coat to an Inhabitant." In addition, Jennings was accused of selling his own regimental coat, vest and hunting shirt. He was summoned before a regimental court martial and "The Court in Consequence of no evidence Appearing to support the Latter part of the Charge, they therefore acquit him of it, but with respect to the former Charge to which the Prisoner pleads Guilty Sentence him to Receive 100 Lashes on his bare back."[46] Major Graham approved the sentence and ordered it to take place in the evening at roll call.

Drunkenness among the soldiers and abuses involving liquor were perennial. As we have seen, regulations governing the sale and consumption of spirits had been established at almost every place where the army had been either encamped or garrisoned. At the Cantonment, as time went on, the magnitude of the problem seemed to increase. Notices dealing with the situation were posted regularly and the following is a typical example. "As many of the Soldiers are frequently found Drunk, by which means they not Only neglect their duty and some are brought to disagreeable punishment, the Sutlers are Strickly forbid from selling to Soldiers any kind of Liquor in such Quantities as to Intoxicate them on pain of being turned off the Ground."[47] It was made clear to everyone that, "No soldier or other Person to sell Spirituous Liquor in the Hutts on pain of having it taken from them and Destroyed."[48] The sale of "mixt Licquor" was forbidden.

As time went on, matters reached a point where Washington had to order that "the Contractors and Sutlers of the Army are not to sell any Rum, or spirituous Liquors to the Troops, unless the person applying therefor produces a written permission specifying the quantity, and signed by a Commissioned officer."[49] The rules were clearly set forth. Infractions, however, were all too frequent and the results usually became the object of a regimental court martial. In the First New York, Private Cornelius Swartwout of Captain Tiebout's Company was "charged with being drunk at the Time of Inspection."[50] Found guilty, he received fifty lashes. John Williams, private in Captain Gregg's Company was accused of being "drunk & not attending roll call. . . ."[51] Williams had a better excuse than Swartwout and the court "Concieves him Justifiable In consequence of his being on fatugue that day and so acquit him."[52]

Infractions of the rules regarding liquor were by no means restricted to enlisted men or to any particular rank or regiment. Several times in the past, officers of the First New York had had their conduct scrutinized in this connection. Affairs at the New Windsor Cantonment were such that Ensign Benjamin Herring of Captain Jansen's Company was summoned before a General Court Martial to answer charges of “Embezzling or Misapplying part of the rum or the value thereof due Capt Bleeker's Company for the month of January last. . . . ”[53] Ensign Herring's explanation and the evidence presented persuaded the court to acquit him and he was released from his arrest.

In the latter part of January, the First New York was ordered to prepare for duty on the lines. The “Lines” was the ostensible line of demarcation between the territory considered to be in American hands and that territory under the control of the British whose headquarters remained in New York City. The Croton River, as well as some of the local roads, provided an easily recognizable division. The western end of the lines was located at Stony Point, on the west bank of the Hudson. From here, the lines extended eastward, across the river, to Verplanks Point, thence southward along the Albany Post Road to the New Bridge and the ferry crossing at the Van Cortlandt Manor. The route continued in a generally eastward direction to the Davenport House and Pines Bridge in the central portion of Westchester County. From Pines Bridge, one leg of the “Lines” ran northward to the Dean House at Dean's Corners in Putnam County. The other leg extended eastward to Bedford.

Whenever a regiment was alerted for duty in the lines, it was the regimental quartermaster's responsibility “to precede the Regiment by at least one day for the purpose of providing convenient quarters on the Road as well as on the Lines without Incomoding the Inhabitants more than is absolutely Necessary. . . .”[54]

On Tuesday, January twenty-eighth, General Gates ordered the First New York to move into the lines on “Thursday next”, February sixth.[55] Preparations were begun immediately. Several days before, Major Graham had already directed that there would be no passes issued to any of the men of the First New York whose regimental coats had not been “turned” or completed with the red facings and white linings in accordance with “the orders issued sometime ago on that Head. . . .”[56] Every effort was made to complete the coats before the Regiment moved. Arms, accoutrements and all clothing was to be cleaned and put in the best order possible. Major Graham had instructed “Each Company Exclusive of the Light Infantry . . . to furnish fifteen files for the March.”[57] Regimental Quarter Master, Lieutenant Henry Van Woert was to obtain sufficient cartridges for the men from Brigade Quarter Master, Ensign Joseph Morrell of the First New York.

Thursday, February sixth, was the anniversary of the alliance with France. A review of the troops by the Commander-in-Chief and a “Feux de Joy” were scheduled for mid-morning at the Cantonment to celebrate the event. At six o'clock that morning, the First New York formed up and began the march to relieve the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment on the Lines. According to instructions, Lieutenant Van Woert had gone ahead of the Regiment to provide quarters and proper billeting. A notation of Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck's indicates that location at which each company of the Regiment was stationed:[58]

Companies	*Company Commander*	*Place Where Posted*
Light Infantry	Captain Bleeker	Stony Point
1st Company	Captain Aorson	Ver Planks
2nd Company	Captain Jansen	Bedford
3rd Company	Captain Hicks	Davenports House
4th Company	Captain Gregg	New Bridge
5th Company	Captain Tiebout	Pines Bridge
6th Company	Captain Parsons	New Bridge
7th Company	Captain Sytez	Between the Bridges
8th Company	Captain Ten Broeck	Deans House

Ordinance stores in relatively sizeable amounts reposed at both Stony Point and Verplanks Point. Both fortifications were customarily garrisoned to some extent. Captain Jansen's Company at Bedford was at the easternmost end of the “Lines.” The Davenport House, a comfortable dwelling place by any standards, was about a quarter mile west of Pines Bridge and had been the scene of previous skirmishes and incidents between the Americans and British. Pines Bridge was one of the two crossings over the Croton River and therefore the center of some activity. Dean's House, somewhat isolated from the rest of the posts, guarded the northern and eastern approach to the Hudson.

Because of its direct access to the Albany Post Road, the New Bridge, which spanned the Croton River a short distance east of Van Cortlandt's Manor, became a focal point to which a considerable amount of activity was directed. Any soldiers attempting to cross the Croton River were instructed to do so “at the bridges on the public roads.”[59] General Washington's instructions clearly spelled out that “In future Flags of truce from the Enemy properly authenticated and conducted are to be received at the New Bridge on the Croton until further directions.”[60] To the British, he indicated that whenever flags of truce were conveyed by land “they will be received by the Officer Commanding at the New Bridge on the Croton. . . .”[61] Most of the passes and flags through the lines were presented at the New Bridge and the following passes were typical of those submitted to either Captain Parsons or Captain Gregg at New Bridge:[62]

> "A pass given to Wm. Haskin of New Windsor with his Sister, who was to conduct her to the enemy's lines she being on her way to New York & properly Recommended from Head Quarters"
>
> "A pass given to Wm. Dusenberry to go into New York Being recommended by His Excellency Genl. Washington"

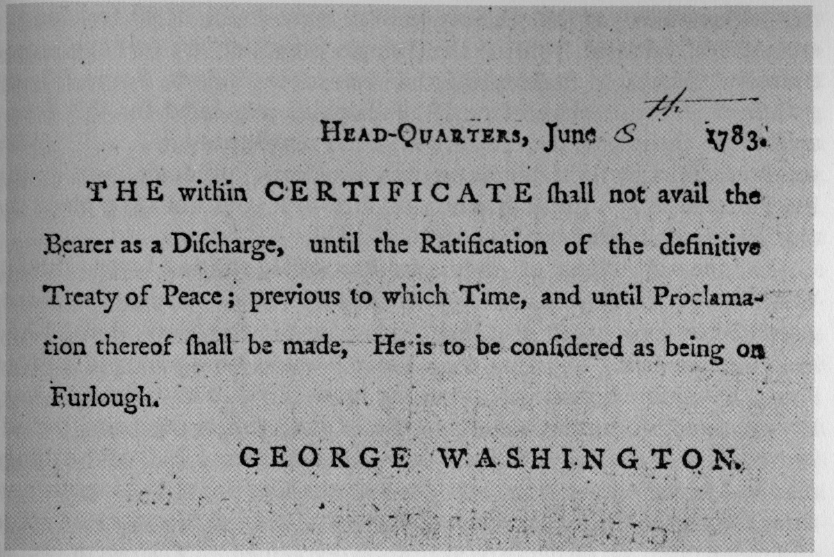
No sooner had Captain Gregg's Company arrived at New Bridge than four men deserted. Only a few days earlier, two men had deserted from Captain Parsons' Company. During their stay "on the Lines", the companies of the Regiment were moved about to some extent. Captain Hicks' Company, stationed at the Davenport House, "exhang'd postes" with Captain Tiebout's Company at Pines Bridge. A few days later, Captain Sytez's Company posted between the bridges, exchanged positions with Captain Hicks' Company at Pines Bridge. At one point a "Scout which went down below the Lines return'd with two prisoners, one of Delancey's Corps and an Inhabitant, the latter was deliver'd to the Commissioners. . . ."[63]

On Thursday, February thirteenth, after one week "on the Lines", the First New York was relieved and returned to the New Windsor Cantonment.[64]

In some respects, the weeks that followed seemed endless. The usual routine of life at the cantonment was sparked with rumors of peace with Great Britain. Many questions were present in the minds of the men; pay, bounties, pensions, etc. What would the end of the war mean for them besides being turned out? All of this had varying effects on the soldiers. The officers, including the Commander-in-Chief, were also concerned. Washington was quick to note that "The present state of suspence, in which we are held with respect to Peace or War is not more irksome than it is unaccountable. . . ."[65] A few days before the end of March, however, Washington received unofficial news that a piece had been concluded and while nothing official could be announced, he indicated to the army on March twenty-eighth his "certainty" that such an "Event" had been accomplished.[66] It was not long before the news was fully confirmed. On April eighteenth, general orders from Washington's Headquarters read that, "The Commander-in-Chief orders the Cessation of Hostilities between the United States of America and the King of Great Britain to be publickly proclaimed tomorrow at 12 o'clock at the Newbuilding, and that the Proclamation which will be communicated herewith, be read tomorrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army."[67] At the same time, General Washington pointed out to the army that the "proclamation . . . extends only to the prohibition of hostilities and not to the annunciation of a general peace. . . ."[68]

Saturday, April 19, 1783: eight years to the day since Lexington and Concord. Washinton's sense of history was inspiring. No one knew better than he that it had not been easy. The road had been long and fraught with pitfalls, the hours often dark. Too frequently despair and defeat seemed the only end. Guard duty for the day was assigned to the First New York. The joyous news was proclaimed from the new building at noon followed by appropriate prayers and thanksgiving. Official announcement to the army came at evening roll call. As the regiments of the Northern Continental Army were formed, Colonel Van Schaick at the head of the First New York, the results were read. Indeed, the efforts of all had been crowned with success and the soldiers whom Washington referred to as "the pride and boast of the American Army" were savouring the sweet taste of victory. An extra ration of liquor was issued to every man "to drink Perpetual Peace, Independence and Happiness to the United States of America."[69]

Preparations for a general rejoicing went forward without delay. Fireworks were to be included in the celebration. In addition, a number of regiments were instructed to "square and deliver at the New Building"by Monday, the twenty-first, several pieces of timber to be used in the erection of a frame for an "illumination." Two pieces thirty feet long and seven inches square were to be provided by the Regiment. A few days later, Captain Leonard Bleeker of the First New York described



HEAD-QUARTERS, June 8th 1783.

THE within CERTIFICATE ſhall not avail the Bearer as a Diſcharge, until the Ratification of the definitive Treaty of Peace; previous to which Time, and until Proclamation thereof ſhall be made, He is to be conſidered as being on Furlough.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Endorsement on Discharges distributed to the soldiers at the New Windsor Cantonment, June 8, 1783.

Courtesy New-York Historical Society, New York.

the preparations for the celebration. "A large frame of 80 feet long is erected 100 yards in front of the Temple on which are to hang, some thousand Lamps to make the Exhibition more briliant. Some Eligant paintings are also arrived from Philadelphia, calculated for this Scene and suited entirely to the rest of this grand representation. . . ."[70] With some exceptions, the celebration was a success, although, as Captain Bleeker said, ". . . the Exhibition of Fireworks did not take place the day we generally supposed it would. . . ."

The announcement of the cessation of hostilities, even though Washington plainly indicated that no general peace has been concluded, gave further impetus to a feeling, widespread in the army, that all had been accomplished and that the soldiers should be discharged and go home. Discipline became progressively more difficult to maintain. Anxiety continued to run high among officers and soldiers regarding the adjustments of their accounts, back pay, land bounties and all of the things that had been promised to them by both the Continental Congress and New York state. Particularly since the first of the year, rumors of peace abounded and as General Washington explained, "The accounts of Peace which have been received at different times, have raised an Expectation in the Minds of the Men engaged for the War, that a speedy Discharge must be the Consequence. This Idea has been so deeply impressed, that it is become difficult to hold them under that sense of discipline which is necessary to bind together the Subjects of an Army. The slow and dilartory manner in which the Intelligence of peace has arrived to us, has served to highten this Idea; and has led those Men to some Suspicion, that official dispatches and official Declarations have been postponed, through design, that they might be held beyond the Term of their Engagements; under these Impressions, they have in some Instances scarcely been restrained from Acts of Excess."[71]

Washington had even considered the consequences of withholding an announcement to the army and although he was faced with somewhat of a dilemma, he concluded that, "to suppress the publication of this proclamation would increase their Suspicion; and knowing the Expectations, to publish it to men who have not learnt to distinguish between a proclamation for a Cessation of Hostilities, and a definite Declaration of Peace, when they have authentic Information that Peace has actually taken place; would serve to encrease their Expectations of immediate Discharge and stamp any Claims to their further services, with an Appearance of Injustice."[72] Washington had discussed the announcement with the other General Officers and all were in agreement that "it would be impracticable as well as impolite to suppress the Proclamation."[73] Several days after the announcement, the Commander-in-Chief remarked to Alexander Hamilton, "The manner in which Peace was first announced, and the subsequent declarations of it, have led the Country and Army into a belief that it was final . . . the Soldiers for the War conceive the term of their Services has actually expired; and I believe it is not in the power of Congress nor their Officers, to hold them much, if any, longer; for we are obliged at this moment to increase our Guards to prevt. rioting, and the Insults which the Officers meet with in attempting to hold them to their duty."[74] No matter what the circumstances, however, Washington remained firm in his belief that "no relaxation in the Decipline or police of the Army shall be suffered, and that the greatest attention shall be paid to the appearance of the troops."[75] Further, he pointed out to all of the soldiers that they "must remember it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience until peace shall be declared. . . ."[76]

Discipline in the First New York was no more easily maintained than in any other regiment. As a matter of routine, regimental court martials were convened several times a week. A Captain usually sat as president with four other officers making up the remainder of the court. The proceedings of the Regimental court martials, held since the first of the year, give some insight into some of the disciplinary problems:

> ". . . Ezekial Leathers of Capt. Hicks Comp^{y} charged with be absent from Roll Call, and being out of his Quarters all Night, pleads not Guilty, the Court finds the prisoner Ezekial Leathers Guilty of the Charge Alledged against him, sentence him to receive 50 Lashes on his bare back."[77]
>
> "James McCoy of Captain Hicks Company charged with Striking Shely of Cap^{t} Greggs Comp^{y} and Abusing him pleads Guilty of Striking Shelly, and no guilty to the Latter part of the Charge—The Court after Considering the evidences Against McCoy are of Oppinion he is Guilty and Sentence him to receive Thirty Lashes on his bare back."[78]
>
> "Corp^{l} Lighthall of Capt Jansens Company Charged with neglect of duty on the Evening of the 1st Inst. pleads not guilty, the Court after Considering the Evidences against Lighthall they are of Oppinion he is guilty and sentence him to be reduced to a private Centinal."[79]
>
> "Andrew Louks of Cap^{t}. Parsons Comp^{y} charged with overstaying his pass and being Absent from roll Call pleads Guilty, the Court sentence him to Receive 30 Lashes on his naked back."[80]
>
> "Ritchard Morrison of Cap^{t} Tiebouts Company, charged with refusing to do is duty, pleads not Guilty, the Court after Considering the Evidences against Morrison are of Oppinion he is guilty and sentence him to receive 30 Lashes on his naked Back."[81]
>
> "Serg^{t} Hooper of Cap^{t} Sytez's Comp^{y} charged with using Insolent language and refusing to Come to Lt. Magees Quarters when sent for, pleads not guilty, the Court having Considered the Evidences

> against Hooper are of an Oppinion he is guilty of the charges Exhibited against him and sentence him to be Reduced to a private Centinel."[82]

> "Martin Van Every of the Light Company charged with absenting himself from the Reg^t without leave 3 days pleads guilty having conceived the nature of his Crime do sentence him to Receive 50 Lashes on his bare Back."[83]

Colonel Van Schaick approved the sentences of the court. However, because of the "former good character" of Louks and Morrison, he was "pleased to remit their punishments." Lieutenant Samuel Lewis interceded on behalf of Private Martin Van Every with the result that "the Commandant also feels disposed for to forgive him."[84]

In some respects, the women accompanying the First New York were subject to the same restrictions and regulations as the men. Occasionally, a women would be brought before a court martial for an infraction of orders or on a criminal charge. Sentences meted out to those found guilty were, in many instances, somewhat less severe than those inflicted upon the soldiers. One notable exception was the Regimental court martial convened on Thursday, March thirteenth, by order of Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck:

> "Jane Mitchel alias Cronck charged with stealing a pocket book from Ja^s Thompson private In Capt. Hicks Comp^y containing three Dollars in Cash and an Order signd By the paymaster to the amount of 26⅔ Dollars pleads guilty of stealing the pocket book and says she delivered it to John Honeywell unopened—The Court considering the nature of her Crime do sentence her to receive thirty nine lashes at four different times on her naked back."[85]

The last inspection of the First New York Regiment, for which there remains a full and complete record, was that conducted on the twenty-first of May, setting forth the condition of the Regiment for the month of April. Inspections conducted in one month purported to show the condition of the Regiment for the previous month. Sometimes notations were made in the Return of events or circumstances that took place after the end of the month, following a procedure generally practiced throughout the army. The April return of the First New York was important indeed for it proved to be the basis for the determination of bounty lands due each officer and soldier and provided a final listing of the men of the First New York for various other purposes.

The month of April saw the Regiment mustered to a total of five hundred fifty two officers and men.[86] One position of ensign was vacant in Captain Sytez's Company and one hundred fifty-eight "rank and file" were needed to bring the Regiment up to full strength. Since the previous inspection last month, one private had "joined" and four had been discharged. Ensign John Fondey and sixteen men were "sick absent." Lieutenant John Furman was reported "sick at Fishkills." Four privates were "on command" at Poughkeepsie where Governor Clinton was temporarily making his headquarters.

Eleven men of the First New York Regiment still made up General Schuyler's guard and remained with him at Saratoga. It is interesting to note that while the First New York supplied all of the men for General Schuyler's guard, few soldiers from the Regiment served in a personal guard for any other general officer. There were, however, some infrequent exceptions. John Ransier and Robert Wright, privates in Captain Leonard Bleeker's Light Infantry Company, served in "Baron Steubens Guard" in April of 1783.[87] Alexander Mills and Ezekiel Leathers, privates in the then Seventh Company of the Regiment, had served in General St. Clair's Guard in October of 1778.[88] One private from Captain Jansen's Company served on General Gates' guard during February 1783.[89]

The following list, certified to on May twenty-first by Colonel Walter Stewart, inspector of the Northern Army, provides a final rostra of the officers of the First New York Regiment:[90]

Name	Rank	Date of Commission*
Goose Van Schaick	Colonel	June 28, 1775
Cornelius Van Dyck	Lieutenant Colonel	Nov. 21, 1776
John Graham	Major	March 26, 1779
Jacob H. Wendell	Lieutenant and Adjutant	Sept. 29, 1780
Jeremiah VanRensselaer	Lieutenant and Paymaster	April 5, 1781
Henry Van Woert	Lieutenant and Q'Master	May 16, 1780
Caleb Sweet	Surgeon	
John Elliot	Surgeon's Mate	
	LIGHT INFANTRY COMPANY	
Leonard Bleeker	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776
Samuel Lewis	Lieutenant	March 1, 1780
Douw Fonda	Ensign	May 29, 1779
	FIRST COMPANY	
Aaron Aorson	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776
Abraham Hardenburgh	Lieutenant	Nov. 21, 1776
Joseph Morrell	Ensign	June 1, 1779
	SECOND COMPANY	
Cornelius T. Jansen	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776
Josiah Bagley	Lieutenant	March 1, 1780
Benjamin Herring	Ensign	May 28, 1778
	THIRD COMPANY	
Benjamin Hicks	Captain	Feb. 16, 1776
Henry Swartwout	Lieutenant	Feb. 23, 1780
John Fondey	Ensign	June 29, 1781

FOURTH COMPANY

James Gregg	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776
Ephraim Snow	Lieutenant	March 26, 1779
Robert Wilson	Ensign	June 29, 1781

FIFTH COMPANY

Henry Tiebout	Captain	Nov. 21, 1776
John Furman	Lieutenant	Sept. 1, 1778
Gerret G. Lansing	Ensign	Feb. 6, 1779

SIXTH COMPANY

Charles Parsons	Captain	March 16, 1779
Benjamin Gilbert	Lieutenant	April 5, 1781
John Marsh	Ensign	Sept. 29, 1780

SEVENTH COMPANY

George Sytez	Captain	Jan. 7, 1780
Peter Magee	Lieutenant	May 29, 1779

EIGHTH COMPANY

John C. Ten Broeck	Captain	April 5, 1781
Wilhelmus Ryckman	Lieutenant	April 5, 1781
Adam Ten Broeck	Ensign	June 29, 1781

*(Indicates the date of commission for the rank shown: may not necessarily be the first date of Commission as an Officer in either the First New York Regiment or the Continental Army.)

There were no changes in the officers since the first of January and the list looked only slightly different than it did last year. Lieutenant Benjamin Bogardus had resigned from Captain Gregg's Company and Lieutenant Ephraim Snow was assigned to that Company. Ensign William Bloodgood had left the Regiment and no one had been appointed in his place.

As the final weeks approached, the following camp equipage was described as being ''In Use'' in the Regiment:[91]

	In Use	Deficient	Lost
Marquis			
H. Tents			
C. Tents			
Knap Sacks	261		2
Canteens	113		
Common Kettles			
Axes	19		3
Spades	5		
Shovels	5		
Picks	4		

Obviously, each soldier did not have his own knapsack or canteen. Knapsacks, particularly, were kept as part of the ''Camp Equipage'' and supplied to each soldier as a special project or fatigue duty would necessitate.

During the months at the New Windsor cantonment, much attention was given to the care of arms and equipment. At the same time the camp equipage was checked, the arms and accoutrements in the Regiment were tabulated:[92]

Coulors	–
Esspontoons	–
Swords	10
Muskets	479
Bayonets	475
Cartridge Boxes	479
Drums	5
Fifes	9
Worms	104
Screw Drivers	76
Flints	995
Cartridges	12,931
Sword Belts	5

When the inspection return was taken, there were four hundred fifty-four privates in the Regiment: each one had a musket, bayonet and cartridge box. Actually, there was an excess of twenty-five muskets, twenty-five cartridge boxes and twenty-one bayonets. This situation had rarely, if ever, existed before and was, in part, created by the discharge of some men and the desertion of others.

Four companies were without drums and all had one fife.

While the number of sergeants' swords had increased since last year, there were presently forty sergeants in the Regiment which meant that only twenty-five per cent of the sergeants were so equipped.

Colours had still not been supplied to the First New York by any issuing authority. Flags continued to be present in the Regiment at the expense of the officers. The war was virtually over. Some preparations to disband the Army had already begun. Still no flags. General Washington was disturbed indeed when he learned from the Secretary at War that the long requested ''Standards are in the Hands of the Q Master at Camp and have been there for some Time.''[93] Quarter Master Pickering was called to account. He informed the Commander-in-Chief that the standards had arrived at camp in a box with other articles. Continuing, Pickering explained that the commissary removed the other articles ''but left the standards, saying he would send for them: however, there they are yet.''[94]

The condition of the uniforms and clothing of the soldiers and the general appearance of the entire Regiment was of the utmost concern to all of the officers of the First New York. Compliments had been directed to the officers of the Regiment, particularly Major Graham, for the efforts in this connection. The officers' attention to the condition and appearance of the Regiment did not diminish during its tour of duty at the New Windsor Cantonment. In preparation for inspection, it was not unusual for Major Graham to direct that, "the whole of tomorrow be interely devoted by the Men to service of cleaning their persons, cloathing, Arms, and Accoutrements in the best manner."[95] Many times passes were not available to the men prior to an inspection, during which time of preparation they were instructed that on the appointed day they were to "appear on the parade in the most clean manner, with their under Cloaths well washed. . . ."[96] Each company commander was under orders from Major Graham to see that such was the case. Colonel Van Schaick expected the uniforms and clothing of the Regiment to be "in the best order."

On March first, it had been announced that "A distribution of the cloathing now In Store is to be made to the Army."[97] The Inspection Return of the First New York for the month of April indicated the following items as having been received by the Regiment:[98]

Coats	99
Vests	95
Breeches	678
Shirts	1,048
Shoes	250
Woolen Overalls	87
Stocks	67
Blankets	23
Hats	23

Early in January, Washington had assured the army that each man would soon be supplied with two shirts. However, to accomplish this, supplies on hand were not sufficient. General Washington was unrelenting in his efforts to see each soldier with two shirts, "for without a change, the one Shirt will soon be rotted off their backs."[99] The number of shirts received by the Regiment certainly indicates that all of the five hundred fifteen non commissioned officers and privates in the First New York received two shirts each with some eighteen left over.

Shoes were still a difficult item to obtain and the quantity received was never enough.

The situation with blankets had not changed materially. They remained high on the list of difficult items.

The arrival of the six hundred seventy-eight pair of breeches and the eighty-seven pair of woolen overalls was overdue. Back in February, Washington had pointed out to the Secretary at War "the necessity of furnishing at least one pair of Woolen overalls pr man . . . for the building of the Hutts has almost entirely destroyed their last Years breeches. . . ."[100] The men continued to receive instructions "to make more use of their overhalls to prevent the wearing out of their Breeches."[101]

The soldier's cocked hat had taken on a new appearance. A white binding or "Laceing" sewn around the edge of the brim had recently been adopted throughout the First New York. With the brim cocked up, as it was normally worn, from three quarters of an inch to one inch of white trim or binding was visible. The binding was usually folded over the edge of the brim and extended about a quarter of an inch on the reverse side. White binding became dirty and was one more item the soldiers had to keep clean. More than once, Lieutenant Henry Van Woert, regimental quartermaster, obtained for the men ". . . Sufficiency of Flour to clean the Laceing of their Hatts against the day of Inspection."[102]

Following the consideration of hats, the grooming of the soldier's hair was not overlooked. "The Commander-in-Chief recommends uniformity in the mode of wearing the hair, either cut short or tied in a similar manner. . . ."[103] An impending inspection, parade or celebration might often be the occasion for the hair to be powdered and it was up to the regimental quarter master "to draw the flour for powder."[104] In some instances, at the same time the flour was obtained "a double allowance of soap for the troops" was also secured.[105]

One item of uniform not previously mentioned in any of the inspection returns of the First New York were half gaiters. They were usually fashioned from heavy, black cloth and fit snugly over the top of the shoes; tightly around the ankle and extended up to the calf of the leg. A tight fit was intended, coming to a point in the rear, buttoning on the outside, usually with five metal buttons, and a strap under the shoe to hold them in place. The gaiters gave a distinctive and somewhat different appearance. In February, Major Graham had instructed the company commanders of the First New York to see that "the Black Cloath is without Delay, made into half Gaeters for their men. . . ."[106] John F. Yingling, private in Captain Aorson's Company was designated by the Major to "cut the Patrin." Several weeks went by and while fabrication of the gaiters progressed, a pair was not yet available for every soldier in the Regiment. On March fourteenth, regimental orders required that "Such Companies as Are not Compleated with Black Cloath for their Mens Gaeiters will make out Returns of the Deficeney to the Regimental Quarter Master Imeadiently."[107] Cloth of any kind was never readily available and gaiters were not easy to make. With this in mind, on April sixteenth, regimental orders in the First New York read, "Gaiters not to be worn unless on duty. . . ."[108]

Once the designation of blue-faced red had been made for the regimental uniform coats of the entire army, both General Washington and the Secretary at War were in agreement that "every possible effort be made to furnish Scarlet cloth for facings and other materials for turning the present coats of the Army."[109] Some coats for the army were to come from Europe. These, however, did not arrive as expected and the care and preservation of existing coats became "doubly necessary." "The Commander-in-Chief therefore recommends that the business of turning and repairing the Coats of last year sould now be considered as a primary object. . . ."[110] In the First New York, this process had started as early as January when Jeremiah van Rensselaer, regimental paymaster, had applied to the "Assistant clothier Genl at Newburgh for a proportion of thread which has just arrived."[111]

In February, when the Regiment was ordered into the "Lines," we have already observed Major Graham's attention to turning the coats of the First New York. Later in the month, Washington had remarked to the Secretary at War that, "The officers are making every possible exertion, to put the old Cloathing into as good a state as will admit, to give it a tolerably decent appearance. The scarlet Cloth for facings &c will be wanted."[112] The Commander-in-Chief went on to explain that, "It is expected scarlet Cloth for Cuffs, Capes and perhaps half facings will be furnished, as the Secretary at War has been pleased to give assurances that he will cause a quantity of that cloth, together with a sufficiency of thread to be immediately forwarded from Philadelphia if possible."[113] The quantity of scarlet cloth was not sufficient to supply the needs of all of the soldiers. On March second, General Washington made it clear that although he "does not urge the Business of turning and repairing the Coats to be precipitated before the Scarlet Cloath can be obtained yet he wishes every Preparation may be made for expediting it as much as Possible, upon the Arrival of the necessary materials, and he hopes the whole may be Accomplished by the fifteenth of April, or first of May at furthest."[114] A shipment of cloth arrived on April thirteenth. The following day orders indicated that, "The Regiments which have not turn'd and repaired their Coats are to draw Lotts for the Scarlet Cloath which arrived yesterday . . . The pay Masters of Regiments which have not begun to repair their Coats with their former facings and wish for a Proportion of scarlet Cloath, must attend at the Cloathing Store at Newburgh to Morrow Nine O'Clock A M that a Distribution may take place Immediately after the Lotts are drawn."[115]

It was apparent indeed that any further shipments of cloth would be too late to be of assistance this spring and Washington advised the army that, "Such Corps as cannot now be supplyed must retain their old Uniform; every thing that can be done previous to the first of May to make the troops appear respectable ought to be attempted—An extra allowance of one ration per Coat will be made for every Regimental Coat that has or shall be turned."[116]

So many times clothing, particularly a regimental coat, was not available when needed for new recruits. Typically, in anticipation of a distribution of "Clothing now in store," Regimental Paymaster, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer was instructed to submit to the Assistant Clothier at Newburgh an accurate return ". . . of the men who joined after the distribution of Cloaths was made for the last year, and for whom no Regimentals have been since drawn."[117]

When questions arose last December as to the fashioning of certain details of the Regimental Coats—lapels, cuffs, buttons, etc.—Washington gave the Commanding Officers some room for variation in this connection. He did have some suggestions and thought that "the coats ought to be made something shorter than at present. . . ."[118] Again, further instructions were necessary to prevent the individual soldiers from making unwarranted changes in their uniforms: ". . . a certain Model as to the fashion and length . . . will be established by the Commanding Officer of the Corps, from which there must be no deviation. Should the men in any instance presume to make alterations in the fashion of their Cloathing according to their own whim and caprice, report is to be made thereof by the Inspector that the want of Systen and Police in such Corps may be publicly noticed."[119]

An interesting sidelight to all of the problems and considerations of regimental coats, was the observation of General Washington that the soldiers "make a practice of Carrying wood when wearing their Coats. . . ." Pointing out that ". . . nothing can be more destrictive to them . . .," the General directed that "whenever the business of carrying Wood is to be performed" the men were to put their "frocks" or hunting shirts on "over their Coats to preserve them."[120]

At the same time that the paymaster had prepared a return of new recruits for whom no clothing or regimentals had been drawn, Captain Bleeker was instructed to submit a return of the clothing necessary to adequately supply the Light Infantry Company of the First New York. Regimental coats for this company were a slightly different matter. The soldiers of the Light Company were to receive new coats. Upon delivery of the new uniforms, the "Coats of last year" were to be collected, counted and a notation made of the condition of each coat. The old coats were distributed among the other companies of the Regiment with the intention that they be used in repairing some of the coats of those companies. Notwithstanding the fact that all infantry coats were to be blue-faced red, "inevitable circumstances," lack of red cloth dictated, "that all the Light Infantry Companies shall be Cloathed in Blue Coats faced with white until further Orders."[121]

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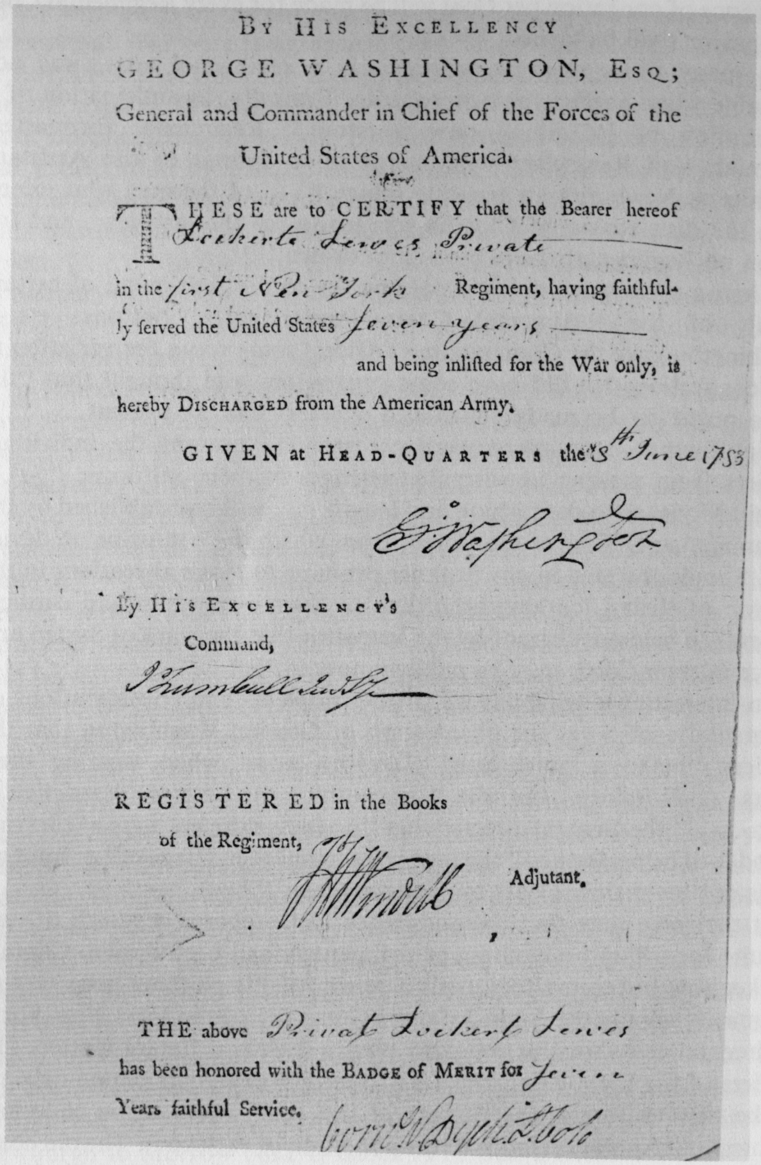
An interesting sidelight to all of the problems and considerations of regimental coats, was the observation of General Washington that the soldiers "make a practice of Carrying wood when wearing their Coats. . . ." Pointing out that ". . . nothing can be more destrictive to them . . .," the General directed that "whenever the business of carrying Wood is to be performed" the men were to put their "frocks" or hunting shirts on "over their Coats to preserve them."[120]

At the same time that the paymaster had prepared a return of new recruits for whom no clothing or regimentals had been drawn, Captain Bleeker was instructed to submit a return of the clothing necessary to adequately supply the Light Infantry Company of the First New York. Regimental coats for this company were a slightly different matter. The soldiers of the Light Company were to receive new coats. Upon delivery of the new uniforms, the "Coats of last year" were to be collected, counted and a notation made of the condition of each coat. The old coats were distributed among the other companies of the Regiment with the intention that they be used in repairing some of the coats of those companies. Notwithstanding the fact that all infantry coats were to be blue-faced red, "inevitable circumstances," lack of red cloth dictated, "that all the Light Infantry Companies shall be Cloathed in Blue Coats faced with white until further Orders."[121]



By His Excellency
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq;
General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the
United States of America.

THESE are to CERTIFY that the Bearer hereof Lockerte Lewes Private in the first New York Regiment, having faithfully ſerved the United States seven years and being inliſted for the War only, is hereby Discharged from the American Army.

GIVEN at Head-Quarters the 8th June 1783

G Washington

By His Excellency's
Command,
J Trumbull Jun Secy

REGISTERED in the Books
of the Regiment,
Adjutant.

THE above Privat Lockert Lewes has been honored with the Badge of Merit for Seven Years faithful Service.
Corn. V Dyck Lt Col

Discharge of Private Lockert Lewis.
Courtesy New-York Historical Society, New York.

In the general orders of August 7, 1782, Washington had inaugurated two separate honors to be awarded to noncommissioned officers and privates. First, and more unique, was the Badge of Military Merit. This award was made by a board of officers to those enlisted men who had performed "singularly meritorious action . . . not only instances of unusual gallantry, but also of extraordinary fidelity and essential service in any way. . . ."[122] The American Army's first decoration took the form of a "heart in purple cloth or silk edged with narrow lace or binding"[123] and was to be worn on the facing of the Regimental Coat "over the left breast." Records indicate that only three men ever received the award and no soldier of the First New York Regiment was so honored. One of the Badges of Military Merit awarded at the New Windsor Cantonment remains on display in the reconstructed public building. The decoration was revived in 1932 as the Purple Heart and awarded to American soldiers wounded in action.

"Honorary badges of distinction are to be conferred on the veteran noncommissioned officers and soldiers of the army who have served more than three years with bravery, fidelity and good conduct."[124] In this instance, a narrow piece of white cloth was "fixed" to the left sleeve of the regimental coat for each three years of service. Some confusion has existed insofar as the designation of the two honors is concerned. The award for at least three years good and faithful service has alternately been referred to as the "badge of distinction,"[125] "Badge of Military Honor,"[126] and "Badge of Military Distinction."[127] In addition, the discharges of those men so noticed read that they had been "honored with the Badge of Merit for ______ years of faithful Service."

Many men of the First New York wore two white stripes on their left sleeve. Corporal James Adams and Private John Peters of Captain Hicks' Company, Privates Lockert Lewis, Richard Morrison and Lewis Piper of Captain Tiebout's Company, Private Thomas O'Brien of Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company, Private Joseph Clinton of Captain Sytez's Company, Private Francis Lampier of Captain Aorson's Company, Private Humphrey Marsden of Captain Gregg's Company, to cite but a few.

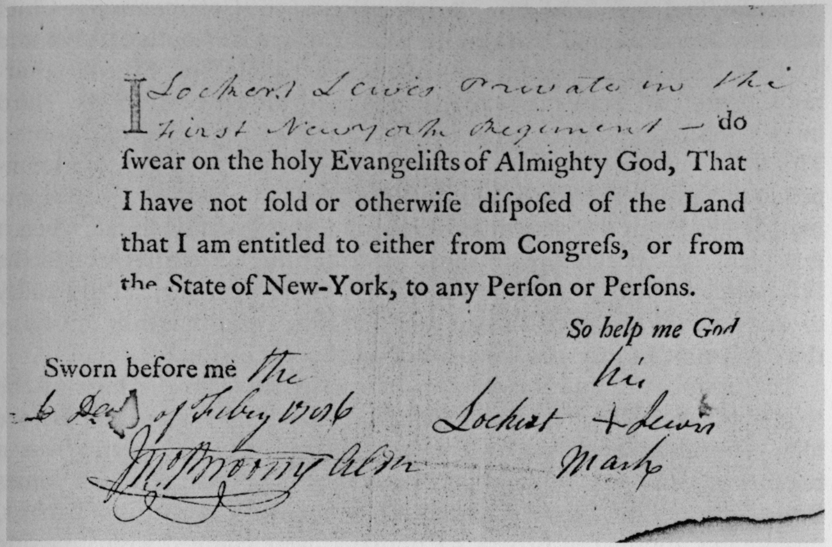
Some men of the Regiment, although they fulfilled the length of service requirement fell short where good conduct was concerned. John Lafferty, presently serving in Captain Bleeker's Company, is one example and his discharge omitted any mention of the "Badge of Merit."

At General Washington's bidding, Colonel Van Schaick had returned to the Regiment in September of last year. Congress had taken no action on his solicited promotion and, indeed, it appeared that the matter was closed. The Colonel was not one to accept defeat and still harboured hopes of attaining what he felt was his just due. In January, Colonel Van

Schaick had gone to Albany—"With Leave." Private John Burke of Captain Ten Broeck's Company was detailed to accompany the Colonel. During the same month, his hopes for promotion received momentary stimulation from a resolution presented to the Congress by a Committee consisting of James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Fitzsimmons. The resolution called for the promotion of Brigadier General James Clinton to Major General and for the promotion to brigadier general of Colonels John Greaton, Rufus Putnam, Elias Dayton and Goose Van Schaick. The resolution was ultimately passed but not before the recommendations for Brigadier General Clinton and Colonel Goose Van Schaick were struck out of the document.[128]

Back with the Regiment again in March, the Colonel remained at New Windsor until the latter part of April. The performance of his usual duties, however, did not deter him from the contemplation of further achievements in the army. It was common knowledge that the Congress would soon be directing its attention to what sort of a military establishment would be needed following the signing of a formal peace with Great Britain. With this in mind, at the end of April, he took Private Henry Buyford of Captain Aorson's Company as an orderly and journeyed again to Philadelphia where, despite the fact that he felt unjustly treated by the Congress in the matter of rank, Colonel Van Schaick once again offered his services to his country. He was convinced that nothing short of one final, personal solicitation would persuade the Congress to grant him a commission as brigadier general and continue him in the army on that basis following the formal conclusion of the war. Addressing himself to the New York Delegates a few months later, the Colonel indicated that, "I . . . should conceive myself happy in being considered in the Appointment of Officers, for this Service."[129] His efforts proved to be fruitless and, as destiny would have it, the First New York was to be disbanded, sent home before Colonel Van Schaick could rejoin the Regiment.

On April eighteenth, General Washington directed that, "The Quartermaster-General will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men enlisted for the War; he will please apply to Head-quarters for the form."[130] In most cases up to this time, discharges had been restricted to severely wounded or disabled men from the Corps of Invalids; with some exceptions in the levies and the militia. Beginning back in December of last year, a number of men serving in the regiments of New York levies received their discharges from Colonel Van Schaick. As events moved rapidly, the Commander-in-Chief related his thoughts on the urgency of the situation indicating that, "Indeed circumstanced as things now are, I wish most fervently that all the Troops which are not retained for a Peace Establishment were to be discharged immediately . . . If they continue here, their claims, I can plainly perceive, will encrease; and our perplexities multiply."[131] Before the troops were sent home en masse and the Continental Army disbanded, General Washington was prompted to express his understanding for some of those things which were most meaningful to the soldiers. " . . . at the Discharge of the Men engaged for the War, Congress should be pleased to suffer those Men, non Commissd Officers and Soldiers, to take with them as their own property, as a Gratuity, the Arms and Accoutrements they now hold. This act would raise pleasing Sensations in the Minds of those worthy and faithfull Men, who from their early engaging in the War, at moderate Bounties, and from their patient continuing, under innumerable distresses, have not only deserved nobly from their Country, but have obtained an honorable Distinction over those, who, with shorter Terms, have gained large pecuniary Rewards . . . These constant companions of their Toils and Dangers, preserved with sacred Care, would be handed down from the present possessors, to their Children, as honorable Badges of Bravery and military Merit; and would probably be bro't forth, on some future Occasion, with Pride and Exultation, to be improved, with the same military Ardor and Emulation, in the Hands of posterity, as they have been used by their forefathers in the present Establishment and foundation of our National Independence and Glory."[132]



I Lockert Lewis Private in the First New York Regiment — do ſwear on the holy Evangeliſts of Almighty God, That I have not ſold or otherwiſe diſpoſed of the Land that I am entitled to either from Congreſs, or from the State of New-York, to any Perſon or Perſons.

So help me God

Sworn before me the 6 Day of Febry 1786
Wm Mooney Aldn

his
Lockert + Lewis
Mark

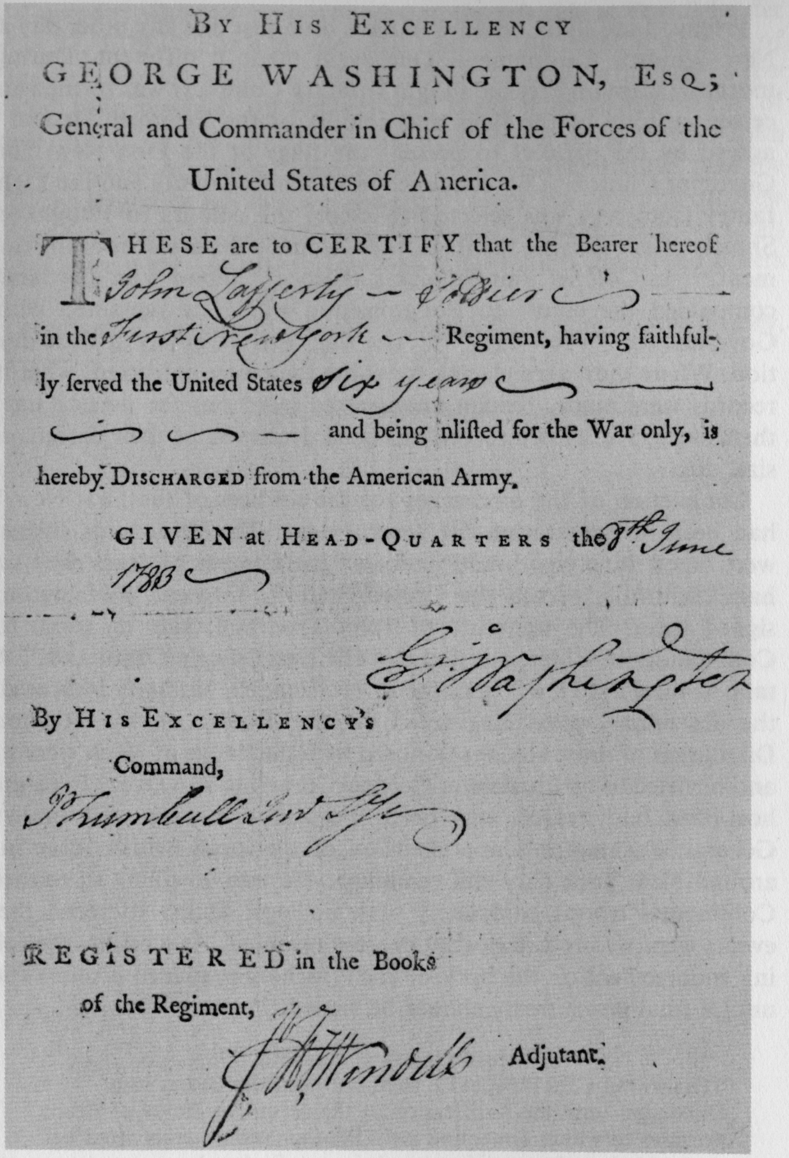
Affidavit of Private Lockert Lewis.
Courtesy New-York Historical Society, New York.

As the final days drew near, the attention of the Commander-in-Chief was directed more and more to the matter of pay for both officers and soldiers and the settlement of officers accounts. In February, arrangements had been made to pay the men on a weekly basis. Hard money was scarce. More often than not, pay was in the form of notes. This led to obvious abuses. At one point, General Washington was compelled to caution the soldiers against the "foolish practice" of "disposing of their Notes and securities of pay, at a very great discount, when it is evident the Speculators on those securities must hereafter obtain the full payment of their nominal value."[133] Sutlers were particularly guilty of this practice and were warned time and time again that they must pay the "full sum" to the soldiers, either in "Specie or Real Value."

The notes or certificates of pay were distributed to the men of the Regiment by Paymaster, Lieutenant Jeremiah Van Rensselaer. Before long, forged notes began to appear. Illustrative of the results was a regimental court martial held on March twenty-seventh at which James Boise, private in Captain Bleeker's Company, and George Bachus, private in Captain Ten Broeck's Company, were charged with "passing to Mr Saml Wood two forged Certificates in Imitating those given by the Paymaster of the 1st New York Regiment."[134] Both men were found guilty and sentenced to one hundred lashes each and "stoppages of their pay to the Amount of Forty Shillings. . . ."[135]

Most of the soldiers of the First New York had been paid in full through the month of April. The weeks passed. General Washington was working against time to provide three months' pay to the officers and men before they left the cantonment. It appeared that success was within grasp. The Superintendent of Finance agreed to issue notes to the army for three months' pay. Resigned to a payment by notes, Washington . . . "lamented that at least a Month's Pay could not have been given to the Troops in Money before they left this place."[136] Further disappointment was experienced as a result of the fact that the three months' notes were delayed and did not get into the hands of the men before they left the cantonment.

A number of the officers of the Regiment had also been paid in full through the month of April. The settlement of accounts with the officers was another matter. Unsettled accounts provided a very real bone of contention with the officers during the encampment at New Windsor. In some cases, subsistence accounts remained unsettled as far back as 1778. Some payment in notes, however, was made to the officers in this connection. Accounts of the recruiting officers continued in arrears. Those officers who had been prisoners were to be settled with individually. And so it went. Some payments were made but not a few officers were to go home with open accounts, many to remain unsettled for eight to ten years.



By His Excellency
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq;
General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the
United States of America.

THESE are to CERTIFY that the Bearer hereof John Lafferty — Soldier in the First New York — Regiment, having faithfully ſerved the United States Six years — and being nliſted for the War only, is hereby Discharged from the American Army.

GIVEN at Head-Quarters the 7th June 1783

G Washington

By His Excellency's
Command,
J Trumbull Junr Secy

REGISTERED in the Books
of the Regiment,
J H Wendell Adjutant.

Discharge of Private John Lafferty.
Courtesy New-York Historical Society.

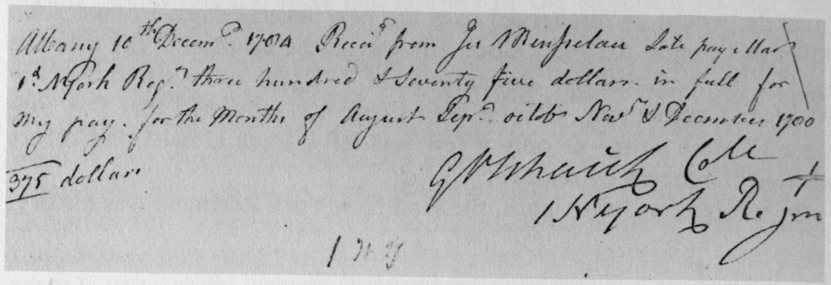
Friday, June sixth, could well have been just like any other day at the New Windsor Cantonment. One event made it different. During the morning, Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company was formed and received custody of the flags and colours of the Regiment. It had been agreed by the officers to present the flags of the First New York to Governor Clinton at his residence in Dutchess County and the Light Infantry Company was selected to escort the colours to Poughkeepsie. Shortly after receiving the flags, the Company departed from the cantonment.[137] In Colonel Van Schaick's absence, Colonel Van Cortlandt accompanied the escort to Poughkeepsie where he remained with the Governor for "a few days."[138] The flags arrived safely at their destination. Where they were placed, to whom they were entrusted, what if any records were made, remain unanswered questions for no one has seen them since. No known record has been preserved of their design, color, size, etc.

Completion of the discharges for the soldiers of the First New York had been in preparation for several days. The documents themselves were dated June eighth and indicated the number of years each soldier had "faithfully served the United States." General Washington had signed them. The signature of John Trumbull, aide de camp to the Commander-in-Chief, attested to "His Excellency's Command." Adjutant of the First New York, Jacob H. Wendell, similarly indicated that the discharge was "Registered in the Books of the Regiment." Discharges of those soldiers honored with the Badge of Merit were signed and certified to by Lieutenant Colonel Cornelius Van Dyck. Even though hostilities had ceased and peace negotiations were well underway, General Washington's apprehension of the large British force in and around New York City still remained. He was unwilling to release the Continental troops completely with no legal ability to recall them if events went wrong and hostilities were resumed. As a result, the following endorsement on the back of each discharge reduced it to a furlough until a final peace treaty should be signed.[139]

> "Head-Quarters, June 8th, 1783.
> THE within CERTIFICATE shall not avail the Bearer as a Discharge, until the Ratification of the definitive Treaty of Peace; previous to which Time, and until Proclamation thereof shall be made, He is to be considered as being on Furlough.
> GEORGE WASHINGTON"

On Sunday, June eighth, two days after the regimental standards had gone to Poughkeepsie, the discharges were distributed to the men of the Regiment. The soldiers were free to go. All but a handful took to the roads forthwith, among them Private Nicholas Brown of Captain Parsons' Company who had been wounded in the left side at Fort Schuyler on May 23, 1779.[140] For him, the road back to the Palatine District of Montgomery County would be tedious indeed. Of those remaining, a few who had been disabled by sickness and transferred to the Corps of Invalids, would be discharged over the next several days. Private John Allen of Captain Aorson's Company was in the hospital at the time the men of the Regiment left the cantonment.[141] Upon his return to the New Windsor Cantonment, Colonel Van Cortlandt remarked that ". . . almost all were gone—as only a few was left—some Unwell and others without the means of removal . . ."[142]

By evening, on June eighth, the First New York Regiment was history.



Albany 10th Decemr 1784 Recd from Jer Rensselaer late pay Mar 1st N York Regt three hundred & Seventy five dollars in full for my pay for the Months of August Sepr Octbr Novr & December 1780

375 dollars

G V Schaick Colle
1 N york Regmt

1 N Y

Pay receipt for $375 signed by Colonel Van Schaick, December 10, 1784.
Courtesy National Archives, Washington, D.C.

TEN

Epilogue

The officers and men of the First New York who left the New Windsor Cantonment in June 1783 took with them little more than the offhand thanks of their fledgling country. In most instances, pensions were restricted to those men who had been severely wounded or disabled. Some officers and soldiers of the First New York did receive disability pensions and included:

Name	Company	Remarks
Captain Joseph McCracken		Wounded at Monmouth
Captain James Gregg		Scalped at Fort Schuyler
Corporal Adam Coopernal	Capt. Hicks'	Wounded at Yorktown
Corporal Jonathan Preston	Capt. Copp's	Disabled at Fort Schuyler
Private William Elbertson	Capt. Van Ness'	Wounded at Monmouth
Private Robert Saunders	Capt. Graham's	Wounded at Monmouth
Private Alexander Mills	Capt. Bleeker's Light Infantry	Wounded at Yorktown
Private John Cook Sr.	Capt. Parsons'	Wounded at Yorktown
Private Mathew Adams	Capt. Bleeker's Light Infantry	Wounded at Dobbs Ferry
Private William Henderson	First Company	Disabled at Fort Schuyler
Private Duncan Frazier	Capt. Copp's	Disabled at Fort Schuyler
Private Nicholas Brown	Capt. Parsons'	Wounded at Fort Schuyler
Private Thomas Hines (Hynes)	Capt. Van Ness'	Invalid on General Schuyler's Guard
Private Daniel McDonald	Capt. Parsons'	"Impaired eyesight"

Under an act of Congress passed on March 18, 1818, additional soldiers applied for and received pensions for reasons other than disability. Congress addressed itself to Revolutionary War pensions on a number of later occasions and enacted pension legislation in 1820, 1823, 1828 and 1832. As men were added to the pension rolls, some were also dropped. Reasons for striking some names from the list of pensioners varied. However, one typical example indicated "the pensioner never exhibited a schedule of his property, but his pension was stopped because the department was informed that he was not in needy circumstances."[1] There were frequent instances where a soldier, having been dropped from the rolls, would be "restored" to the list under the provisions of a subsequent Act of Congress. For over fifty years after the end of the war, some confusion existed in the pension arrangements for the veterans of the Continental Army.

Among those men who had served in the First New York and who received pensions other than for disability, were Lieutenant Benjamin Gilbert, Captain Nicholas Van Rensselaer, Captain John Wendell and Private Alexander Maroney. The case of Ensign Joseph Morrell provides an example of some of the confusion that existed. Ensign Morrell had been placed on the pension rolls as a result of the Congressional Act of 1818. Shortly thereafter, he was struck off the list. Under the Act of March 1, 1823, his pension was "restored." Following the restoration of his pension, however, Ensign Morrell agreed that it be "Relinquished for an increase of his stipend under the act of May 15, 1828."[2]

The First New York, as part of the New York line, had agreed to forego half pay for life in lieu of five years pay ". . . In money, or Securities on Interest of Six pr Ct pr Anum as Congress shall find most Convenient. . . ."[3] Very few, if any, soldiers received payment in specie. Notes and certificates of pay due were the prevailing mode of payment. In numerous cases, it took years to get the certificates of pay into the hands of the veterans. Conrad Peas (Pease), who had served as a private in Captain Hicks' Company, received his certificate for "Thirty One pounds & 8/ - in full for my pay in the Year 1781 for Service performed by me, in Col. V. Schaicks Regt in the late War," on June 18, 1791.[4] Among those soldiers of the First New York for whom it seemed to take the longest time to obtain their pay certificates were those who, at the end of the War, were separated from the Regiment; either in hospitals in various places, prisoners or those men who, for whatever the reasons, were not enumerated on the final return of the Regiment. Men to whom pay was due and who had not received a certificate often had to apply to the appropriate authority and wait for an adjudication in order to obtain their due. Many former soldiers died before their certificates of pay reached them and claims for pay were filed by wives, sons, daughters, other survivors and relatives. The receipt of John Smith, while not a typical situation, provides an interesting sidelight:[5]

> "Received December 10th 1790 from Gerard Bancker, Treasurer, a Certificate for Thirty one pounds 7/7 in full for Services performed by my son John Smith in the first New York Regiment, Commanded by Col. V. Schaick, in the year 1781, pursuant to a letter of Administration now produced.
>
> John Smith, Adm."

The receipt signed by Jacob Crandall regarding pay due Henry Randle, the black man in Captain Aorson's Company who died at Yorktown, again is not typical but offers an additional note.[6]

> "Received 21st March 1793 from Gerard Bancker Treasurer Twenty One Pounds Fifteen Shillings & Six Pence in Cash for the Service of Henry Randle deceased in Col^{o} Van Schaicks Regimt in the year 1781 who was the property of my Father deceased . . ."

Many times General Washington had warned the soldiers of the pitfalls involved in selling or assigning their notes or certificates of pay. Again and again, the Commander-in-Chief took steps to protect the interests of the men. Abuses remained, nevertheless, and the certificates of pay issued after the end of the War were no exception. They were readily assigned and sold. Many were discounted at onerous rates. In some respects, more abuses were involved after the war than during the conflict. Perhaps this is not difficult to understand. For some individuals, there was the incentive to gamble on the certificates eventually being paid in full (which at the time was not entirely certain) by offering the soldiers a lesser amount. In addition, there were always those who were ready to capitalize on the soldier's willingness to part with their certificates of pay and to appeal to their desire for hard money. Many of the men used their certificates to pay debts. In cases where a soldier had not yet received his certificate, he often signed away his rights to amounts due. Indeed, it sometimes appeared that a market for assignments had been created: either intentionally or unintentionally.

A good example of the kind of abuse that was sometimes perpetrated, was the experience of Francis Acklin, formerly a private in Captain Parsons' Company of the Regiment. At the time he made an assignment, Acklin was uncertain as to his entitlement and assigned ". . . all such monies or notes as may be found due to me . . . as pay for my services from the State of New York for the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty One. . . ."[7] Acklin made the assignment in favor of one James Reynolds on October 5, 1790 and received ten pounds for the executed document. Two days later, by virtue of the assignment, Reynolds received Acklin's pay certificate for thirty-two pounds.

Other men in the Regiment fared better than Acklin. John Hudson, former private in Captain Aorson's Company received twenty-five pounds for his assignment which ultimately returned thirty-two pounds.[8] John Shuts, former sergeant in Captain Hicks' Company, received ten pounds for the assignment of ". . . all wages arreages of wages or dues to which I become entitled for my services. . . ."[9] Shuts' certificate of pay brought thirteen pounds, seventeen shillings one pence. Acklin, Hudson and Shuts had each signed a lengthy legal document. While this was not unusual, other soldiers of the First New York assigned their pay due by signing a simple statement and the succeeding are typical examples:

> "Please to pay John Thompson all the pay due me for my Services in Collonel Goose Van Schaicks Regiment for the Year 1781—together with any other arrearges which may be due me for my Services in Said Regiment & your Receipt shall be sufficient Voucher for the same.
>
> his
> Hugh X Mitchel
> Mark"[10]

(formerly a private in Captain Gregg's Company)

> "Deliver to M^{r} Michael Connolly on order Whatever May appear to be Due me as a Soldier in the First New York Reg^{t} Commanded by Col^{O} Goose Van Schaick for my Services in New York One thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty One and this shall be your Voucher given under my hand at Schonectady for value received—this
>
> John Cogden"[11]

(formerly a private in Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company)

The assignment of Hugh Sloan (formerly private in Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company), made in Otsego County, New York on July 26, 1791, is of some particular interest only because of the fact that the recipient of the funds was General Samuel B. Webb of the Connecticut line.

> "Please to pay or deliver to Gen^{l} Sam^{l} B. Webb all the pay or Arrearages of pay Due to me for Services Rendered the Public in Col^{O} Goose van Schaaks first New York Regiment for the Year one thousand seven Hundred and eighty one and all other pay that may be Due to me for my Services. and this shall be your Sufficient Voucher for the Same as Witness my hand And Seal
>
> Hugh Sloan"[12]

Of the several inducements offered to the soldiers for enlistment in the Continental Army, the determination of bounty lands was not finalized until just before the Army left the New Windsor Cantonment. Land had been offered as a bounty early in the war and on September 16, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved to ". . . make provision for granting lands in the following proportions to the officers and soldiers who shall so engage in the service, and continue therein to the close of the war, or until discharged by Congress, and to the representatives of such officers and soldiers as shall be slain by the enemy. Such lands to be provided by the United States; and whatever expense shall be necessary to procure such land, the said expense shall be paid and borne by the states, in the same proportion as the other expenses of the war:

to a Colonel	500 acres
to a Lieutenant Colonel	450 acres
to a Major	400 acres
to a Captain	300 acres
to a Lieutenant	200 acres
to an Ensign	150 acres
each non-commissioned officer and soldier	100 acres"[13]

As the war went on, little attention was given to the matter of bounty lands. It was not until March 27, 1783, that the New York State Legislature took definitive action on bounty lands and, in addition to the acreage awarded to the soldiers by the Congress in 1776, New York State voted ". . . the following quantity of lands . . . to the Line of this State . . . a Gratitude to the said Line and to evince the just sense this Legislature entertain of the Patriotism and Virtue of the Troops of this State serving in the Army of the United States:

Colonel	2500 acres
Lieutenant Colonel	2250 acres
Major	2000 acres
Captain	1500 acres
Chaplain	1500 acres
Subaltern and Surgeons Mate	1000 acres
Each non Commissioned Officer and Private	500 acres"[14]

With some variations, the number of acres each officer and private was to receive was easily ascertained by a combination of both awards. For the First New York, the schedule of bounty land awards indicated:

Colonel Van Schaick	3600 acres
Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck	3000 acres
Major Graham	2400 acres
Each Captain	1800 acres
Each Lieutenant	1200 acres
Each Ensign	1150 acres
Each non-commissioned officer and private	600 acres

The tracts of bounty lands were laid out in detail. Most of the land given to the soldiers came from the lands of the Onondaga Indians and generally encompassed the area known today as Onondaga County in upstate New York. Some small tracts in the Lake George area were also given to the soldiers as a bounty.

The determination of the bounty and the designation of the land did not mean that all was complete. As late as April 22, 1783, General Washington remarked that, "I have not heard that Congress have yet had under consideration the Lands, and other gratuities, which at different periods of the War, have been promised to the Army."[15]

Land patents had to be issued and this took time. Most patents were not forthcoming until 1790 and by that time, many officers and soldiers, including Colonel Van Schaick, had died. Many of the soldiers had little interest in far away lands, even as a gift. Comparable to the situation with their certificates of pay, the men could understand money in their hand but the legal entanglements of land transactions were another story. As a result, the selling and assigning of bounty land rights became commonplace. Again, General Washington had cautioned the soldiers about being too quick to part with their land.

Assignments of their bounty lands by the soldiers took somewhat the same course as the assignment of the certificates of pay and were frequently made for similar reasons. In some cases, both were assigned simultaneously by means of the same document. William King of Half Moon, Albany County, New York, formerly a private in the Regiment made such an assignment in favor of his brother:

> ". . . for me, and in my name, and for my use, to ask, demand, and recover, receive, of and from the Andebters of the State of New York, or the Pay Master of the First New York Regiment of Foot Commanded by Colonel Goose Van Schaick Esq., and whome else it may Concern; as well all such Wages and pay, Bounty Money, Bounty-Lands, and all other Sum or Sums of Money, whatsoever, as now are, and which hereafter shall and may be due, or payable unto me; also all such Pensions, Sallaries, Smart-money, or all other Money Whatsoever; which now are, or at any time hereafter shall or may be due to me for my Service, or otherwise in any of the Regiments of the United States of America. And more Especially for my pay or Wages for the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty One. and the Bounty-Land Granted by the Honourable the Congress of the Free & Independant States of America and Granted by the—Honourable the Legislative Body of the State of New York to the Troops of the State of New York Inlisted During the Late War. . . ."[16]

In a number of instances, soldiers of the First New York assigned or sold their bounty land rights to officers of the Regiment for relatively nominal consideration. Lieutenant John Furman of Captain Tiebout's Company was particularly active in various kinds of transactions including the purchase of bounty land rights from the soldiers.

John Brown, formerly a private in Captain Gregg's Company, ". . . for and in consideration of the sum of Eight pounds N. Y. Currency to me in hand, paid by the said Lieut John Furman and Daniel Carpenter . . . ," sold ". . . all the right title Interest claim and demand which I have, in and to the said Six hundred Acres of Land aforesaid to wich I am Intitled . . . to the said Lieut. John Furman and Daniel Carpenter. . . ."[17]

Johann Georg Guth, former private in Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company also ". . . released, conveyed & Transferd and confirmed . . . unto the Lt John Furman & Daniel Carpenter . . ." all of his ". . . right title Interest claim and Demand . . ." in the six hundred acres of bounty lands to which he was entitled.[18]

It is interesting to observe that the two assignments noted above were executed in August 1782 and are an indication that even though final determination of bounty lands was not a reality before March 1783, some enterprising individuals anticipated what was to come and were willing and ready to speculate.

Rights to bounty lands were often sold and resold. A good example were the rights purchased by Lieutenant Furman and Daniel Carpenter from Johann Georg Guth which were, in turn, sold to Henry Otehout on December 24, 1782. However, not all of the rights purchased from the soldiers were resold and it was by retaining these purchased rights that some individuals ultimately obtained sizeable tracts of land. It should be said, too, that not all of the soldiers sold or assigned their land rights. There were those who actually took possession of the land which had been set aside for them.

The ultimate disposition of a number of the soldier's huts after the departure of the troops from the New Windsor Cantonment is of particular interest because it involves Lieutenant John Furman of the First New York. When the army left, Quarter Master General Timothy Pickering had been instructed to dispose of all property belonging to the United States. Before the end of June, John Furman offered to purchase ". . . the huts of the Maryland, Jersey, York & New Hampshire Lines, in number two hundred & fifty two, at one dollar each, to be discounted on the settlement of the Line of the Sloop Black Prince, James Jackson Master, for his service in 1782."[19] The offer was accepted and, referring to John Furman, in his receipt the Quarter Master General indicated that, ". . . I hereby sell and convey to him the public huts on the western side of Beaver Dam Meadow with the right of taking them away in a reasonable time. . . ."[20] Lieutenant Furman's own receipt suggests that at times he had been engaged in providing transportation for the troops on the Hudson River.

Some of the men of the First New York who left the New Windsor cantonment in June of 1783, had served in the Regiment steadily since the beginning or early days of the War: Private Humphery Marsden (discharged from Captain Gregg's Company) had served in Captain Quackenboss' Company in 1775; Private Lewis Piper (discharged from Captain Tiebout's Company) began his service in Captain Ledyard's Company in early 1776; Private John Cooper (discharged from Captain Aorson's Company) saw service in Captain Lyon's Company in 1776; Private John Stagg (discharged from Captain Ten Broeck's Company) had enlisted in Captain Varick's Company in 1775; Private Joseph Clinton (discharged from Captain Sytez's Company) had served in Captain Lyon's Company in early 1776. An outstanding example of one who served in the First New York throughout the war was Sergeant Tamson (Thompson) Bacon who had enlisted in Captain Lyon's Company in

February 1776, went through all of the engagements with the Regiment, was captured at Fort Schuyler in June 1779, rejoined the Regiment and was ultimately discharged from Captain Bleeker's Light Infantry Company at the New Windsor cantonment.

Captain John Copp, who began his service with the First New York at the time the Regiment was raised in 1775, remained with the Regiment for some four years until 1779.

Some officers who started with the Regiment in 1775 left the First New York in late 1776 to return at a later date. Major Benjamin Ledyard returned to the Regiment in May 1778 and was forced to resign because of ill-health the following year. However, most of the former officers who returned to the Regiment did so as a result of the consolidation of the Regiments on January 1, 1781 and Captains Aaron Aorson, Leonard Bleeker and Henry Tiebout are the most notable examples.

Those officers who were appointed to the First New York in November or December of 1776 and who served with the Regiment throughout the remainder of the War gave the Regiment a unique continuity, particularly at the field officer level, as compared to many other units. Significantly, the following officers were among those who served with the Regiment during that period, almost seven years:

Colonel Van Schaick
Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck
Major Graham
Captain Benjamin Hicks
Captain Charles Parsons
Captain John C. Ten Broeck
Lieutenant Abraham Hardenburgh
Lieutenant Henry Van Woert - Quarter Master
Lieutenant Wilhelmus Ryckman
Lieutenant Jacob H. Wendell - Adjutant

A treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed in November 1783. As a result, the officers and soldiers of the First New York were never called back and the Regiment was never raised again. When the soldiers left New Windsor, some went back to their families, farms, shops or whatever they had left behind. The conduct of wars in general, however, and the movement of men to new, unfamiliar places brings about changes in ideas and ways of life and makes the men a new generation. Almost all of the soldiers of the Regiment were natives of New York State, and, for the times the march to Yorktown, Trenton, Quebec and some of the other places to which the First New York was sent, was further from home than most of the men would have ever expected to travel. A number of the soldiers settled in relatively distant places and began life anew in different ways. Some took possession of their bounty lands and made a new start in upstate New York.

Many officers of the First New York returned to their former homes and patterns of life. Some took up new responsibilities in the affairs of New York state government. A few, like Alexander McDougall, had been prominent in business or political affairs for many years. Both he and Christopher P. Yates had been members of the Provincial Congress in 1775 and 1776. Following the pattern of a number of military officers who became bank presidents, Alexander McDougall was named to the presidency of the Bank of New York in June, 1784. Both Alexander McDougall and Andrew Finck were to become state senators.

Some, such as Cornelius Van Dyck, Christopher P. Yates, Joseph McCracken, Andrew Finck, Marinus Willett, William Goforth, Adiel Sherwood, Peter B. Tearse (Tierce), David Van Ness, Benjamin Hicks, Benjamin Gilbert, Douw Fonda, John H. Wendell, Leonard Bleeker, Samuel Lewis and Abraham Hardenburgh were among those former officers of the First New York who went on to serve in the Assembly of the State of New York.

Richard Varick became Speaker of the Assembly in January 1788 when the eleventh session was held in Poughkeepsie. Having been appointed attorney general of the state in May 1788, Varick went on to be elected mayor of New York City in September 1789. Both Richard Varick and Marinus Willett, who also acceded to the mayorality of New York City in 1807, were active in many facets of government and political affairs.

Former officers of the Regiment appointed to the Electoral College were David Van Ness, Abraham Ten Eyck, Abraham Bancker and Marinus Willett. New York representatives in the First Congress in 1789 included John Lawrence.

Named as delegates to the New York State Constitutional Conventions of 1791 and 1801 respectively, were Christopher P. Yates representing Montgomery County and Samuel Lewis representing Saratoga County. Ephraim Snow was elected sheriff of Herkimer County in 1806. Leonard Bleeker was appointed one of the inspectors for the New York prison in 1810. John H. Wendell was named surrogate of Albany County in 1810 and again in 1813.

Other examples remain unmentioned and the list is by no means exhausted. Suffice to say that the former officers of the First New York Regiment moved into the affairs of their new state and country with alacrity.

The one name that was conspicuous by its absence from any list of those officers of the First New York who went on to hold positions of responsibility in the affairs of their new state and country was that of Goose Van Schaick. As we have seen, Colonel Van Schaick desired to continue in the military service. The matter of his promotion to brigadier general, however, remained a bone of contention. General Washington was sensitive to similar feelings among many of the officers of the Continental Army and early in April of 1783, he had broached the question to the Secretary at War “. . . whether there could not be some general rule devised . . . for giving Brevet Commissions of a superior rank to those they now hold to all such veteran officers as have served faithfully and bravely in the same grade ever since the first of Janry 1777 . . .”?[21] Continuing, the Commander-in-Chief expressed the opinion that, “. . . the adoption of the measure would I am persuaded be considered as a just reward to merit and without increasing the public expense one farthing, would add greatly to the satisfaction of many worthy and deserving Characters.”[22] The recommendations of General Washington were embodied in a resolution passed by the Congress on September 30, 1783 and under this legislation Colonel Van Schaick was eligible for a brevet commission as a brigadier general. Nevertheless, the Colonel continued firm in his conviction that he was rightfully entitled to the rank of brigadier general in the regular, normal manner, including pay, and not merely by brevet. Whether or not Colonel Van Schaick's brevet commission as a brigadier general was ever issued is difficult to establish since all of the records of the commissions issued under the authority of the September thirtieth resolution were lost by fire in November 1800. Correspondence bearing Colonel Van Schaick's signature and his own personal designation of rank, signed as late as December 1784, indicate no change and the continuation of the rank of Colonel.

Undoubtedly, rank was not the only reason Goose Van Schaick retired to private life after the war. The Colonel's long military record included his participation as a captain in the expedition against Fort Ticonderoga under General Abercrombie in 1758. During the expedition, young Captain Van Schaick, then twenty-two years of age, received a wound in the face which was to plague him for the rest of his life. It has been said that “. . . during the most arduous Part of his military Career he suffered extremely from the Wound in his Face, submitting him to frequent operations to obtain relief. . . .”[23] Following the signing of the formal peace with England, Colonel Van Schaick spent some time in New York City and then returned to his home in Albany. The wound in his cheek had long since been the cause of a “cancerous Disease,”[24] and time was running out. Colonel Goose Van Schaick died on July 4, 1789 at the age of fifty-two. Ironically, death came almost thirteen years to the day from the Tuesday in 1776, when he had called the troops together at New York to hear the reading of the Declaration of Independence.

In May of 1783, while the army was still encamped at the New Windsor cantonment, it was suggested by General Knox that some means be devised to continue the “long cherished friendship and social intercourse” of the officers of the Continental Army. A plan of organization for such a society was prepared and its designation as the Society of the Cincinnati was unanimously approved. The several purposes of the Society were set forth in detail and included a desire “to perpetuate . . . the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger, and in many instances, cemented by the blood of the parties, the officers of the American army do hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate, constitute and combine themselves into one Society of Friends, to endure so long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, and in failure thereof, the collateral branches, who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members.”[25]

One of the other purposes of the Society was “to render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers, this spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficience, according to the ability of the society, towards those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it.”[26]

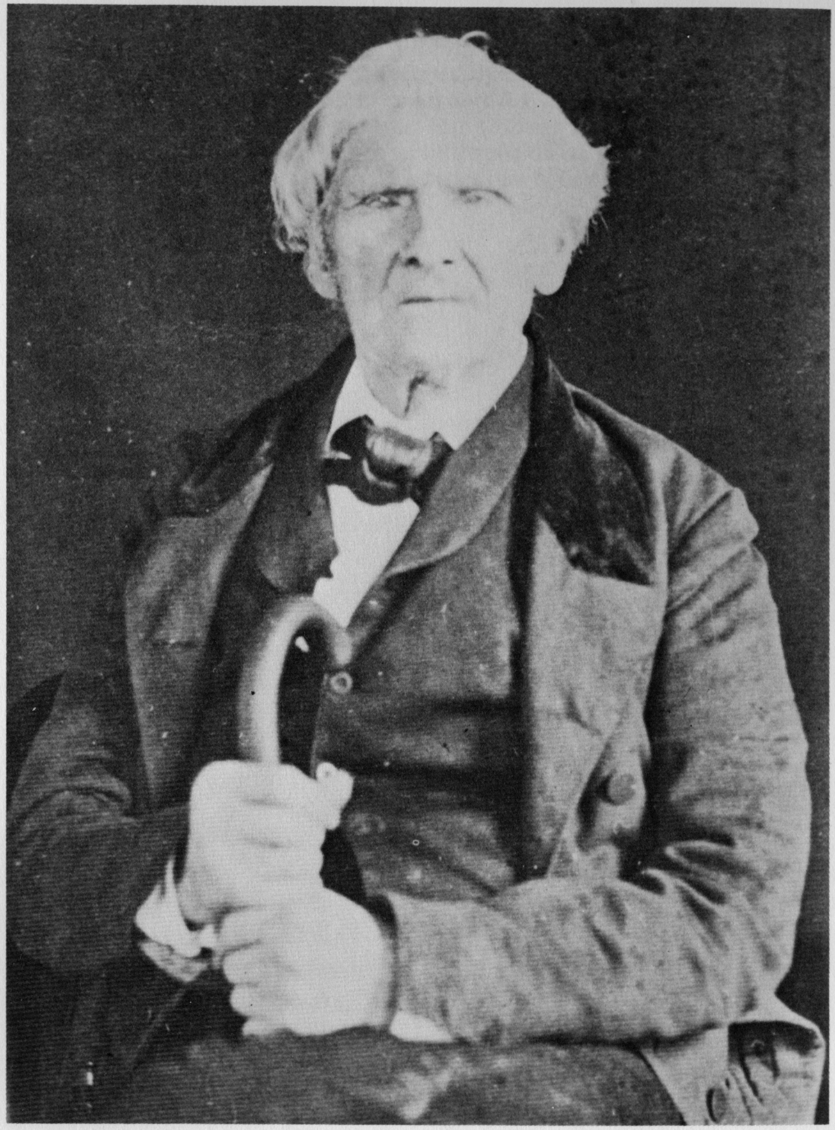
In order that the Society's stated activities and objectives might be carried out, the source from which monies were to come was also spelled out. “In order to form funds which may be respectable, and assist the unfortunate, each officer shall deliver to the treasurer of the state society one month's pay, which shall remain for ever, to the use of the state society; the interest only of which, if necessary, to be appropriated to the relief of the unfortunate.”[27]

A list of the members of the Society of the Cincinnati of the state of New York included many officers from the Regiment. Alexander McDougall was elected president. Richard Platt became deputy treasurer. Other officers of the First New York who were included in the initial organization were Goose Van Schaick, John Graham, Aaron Aorson, Henry Tiebout, James Gregg, Benjamin Walker, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Wilhelmus Ryckman, Gerrit Lansing, John Fondey, Ephraim Snow, Peter Magee, Robert Wilson, John Marsh, Jacob H. Wendell and Peter B. Tearse.

By the very nature of the purposes of the Society of the Cincinnati, it was anticipated that financial aid to former officers of the Continental Army or their families would not only be charitable but necessary. Records are not entirely clear as to how often the Society was called upon to assist a former officer of the First New York. However, in one instance, twenty-eight years after the end of the War aid was solicited from the Society on behalf of the widow of an officer who had been adjutant of the Regiment.

> “I take the liberty of Recommending Mrs. Mary Tearse (widow of Peter B. Tearse) as a person who needs the aid & relief of the Soci-

ety. Her husband was an officer in the late war—he served until but a short time before the close of it in the first New York Regiment—and then joined the corps commanded by Col. Willett in which he served until discharged. Genl Gansevoort & Col. Willett are well acquainted with his faithful services. Her husband lately died insolvent and she is in a state of poverty and distress: on no one can the charity of your benevolent society be more properly bestowed . . ."[28]



Private Alexander Maroney, circa 1864, last living member of the regiment.

Reprinted, with permission, from the *Last Men of the Revolution.*

ELEVEN

The Last of the First

Eighty-one years after the Revolutionary War, in 1864, the last six remaining veterans of the Continental Army were photographed for posterity. One of those men photographed was Alexander Maroney (Marony), the sole survivor of the First New York Regiment. Although there has been some question as to the exact date of Alexander Maroney's birth, some agreement exists that he was born in 1770 at Quebec. As an artificer, Alexander's father, whose surname was Milliner, had come to Canada as part of General Wolfe's Army accompanied by his wife. Mr. Milliner's untimely death and the birth of Alexander prompted Widow Milliner to remove “. . . with him to New York . . . while he was yet young. . . .”[1] Mrs. Milliner was described by her son as being “English, high larnt, understood all languages, had been a teacher.”[2] Some time after their arrival in New York, Mrs. Milliner “became Acquainted” with Florence Maroney, a “well-to-do-mason.” They were subsequently married and henceforth young Alexander became known by the surname of his stepfather.

Florence Maroney had enlisted “for the War” and was appointed sergeant in Captain Graham's Company of the First New York Regiment on November 28, 1776. In the early months of 1777, he was with the Company at Fort George and went out to Fort Schuyler with the Regiment in August, where he remained until moving into winter quarters in Schenectady in November. All during 1778, while remaining in Captain Graham's Company, he was assigned to General Schuyler's Guard and was with the General at Saratoga.[3] Subsequently transferred to Captain Cornelius T. Jansen's Company, in which he served to the end of the War, Florence Maroney was one of those individuals whose education was sufficient to enable him to sign his own name rather than “make his mark” as was the case with so many other men.

Too young to serve in the ranks or to join the army himself, at Lake George, some time during 1778, Alexander was enlisted by his father into Captain John Graham's Company of the First New York as a drummer boy. Since this was the Company to which Sergeant Maroney was assigned, it gave him the opportunity to keep an eye on the lad.

In his old age, Alexander Maroney talked about many aspects of his military service during the Revolutionary War, some with clarity but mostly with broken recollections. He alluded to his service in General Washington's guard. However, no record exists of Alexander's service in that unit and it is generally agreed that this reference was a figment of his imagination. Years and age tend to cloud and confuse the memory, and perhaps what Alexander Maroney was referring to in his final years was service in General Schuyler's guard to which his father had been assigned at the time of and following his son's enlistment. In addition, records suggest that the boy remained with his father and that when Sergeant Maroney was transferred from one company to another, young Alexander accompanied him to the new assignment. At Monmouth, the Young Drummer claimed to have received a "flesh wound in the thigh," although this is not mentioned in his application for a pension. He saw service with the First New York in the Mohawk Valley, went south with the Regiment to Yorktown and was present at the encampments at Pompton and the New Windsor Cantonment.

In June of 1783, when the army was being sent home from the New Windsor Cantonment, Alexander Maroney received his discharge ". . . at Snake Hill Back of New Winsor. . . ."[4] Since the boy was still only about thirteen years of age when he received his discharge, his father took possession of the document and as Alexander explained at a later date ". . . his father died from home and lost all his papers and his discharge with the rest."[5]

The sum total of Alexander Maroney's service to his country is said to include just over five years in the Navy following his Army service during the Revolutionary War. Again, however, records do not substantiate this and nowhere is it mentioned in his application for a pension.[6]

Marriage to Abigail Barton, six years his junior, preceded Maroney's settlement in Cortland County, New York as a farmer. Time passed. The family grew. By 1819, however, things were not going well and Alexander Maroney made his first application for a veteran's pension under the act passed by Congress on March 18, 1818, in which he indicated that he was ". . . in reduced circumstances and stands in need of assistance from his Country for support."[7] He went on to point out that ". . . his bodily infirmities render him at times unable to labor. . . ."[8] In September of 1820, when he was fifty years old, Maroney filed a statement of his personal circumstances including a list of the members of his family, together with a summary of his assets as a supplement to his original application for a pension. In connection with his family, perhaps Alexander Maroney's own words best describe the problems he faced as he explained that ". . . he has a wife Abigail Marony aged forty four Years and is & has now for three Years Sickly with a slender constitution and unable to perform hard labor, That he now has six Children dependent upon him for Support to wit Patty Marony aged fourteen who is of a feeble & slender constitution & unable to perform ordinary labor—Merriam Marony aged twelve Years—Sally Marony aged ten Years—Joel P. Potter Marony aged Eight Years inclined to insanity & probably will never be able to support himself—John Marony aged six years—Polly Marony aged about Two months."[9]

Part of the requirement for a pension was the certification of the former drummer boy that he had not disposed of any of his property with the specific intent of reducing his assets to make himself eligible for a pension. Indeed, this was not necessary. There was no income other than the meager amount that was generated by his labor as a farmer and Alexander Maroney's list of assets was not impressive:[10]

1 Calf
5 Pigs
1 Ox Yoke
1 Plough
1 Drag
1 Chain all worn
1 good axe
1 poor axe
1 Sythe
1 Sickle
1 Cow Bell
4 old chairs
1 old Chisl
1 plate
4 Knivs & 3 forks old and broken, half set Tea Cups & Saucers
2 old pails

As a result of his applications and efforts, Alexander Maroney received a pension of eight dollars a month "to commence" on the fifteenth of April 1819.[11] The amount of the stipend was increased at least once over the succeeding years; the last increment being recorded on July 1, 1864.[12]

On the twenty-first of April 1855, Alexander Maroney made application for bounty lands to which he felt entitled ". . . under the act approved March 3d, 1855."[13] Having gone to live with his son at Adams Basin in Monroe County, near Rochester, New York, Maroney had authorized his attorney to prosecute the claim for him and ". . . to receive any warrant that may be issued hereon."[14] Maroney's solicitations were successful and Bounty Land Warrant number 17708, issued in February 1856, granted him one hundred sixty acres.

At the time his photograph was taken, Alexander Maroney could still handle his drum ". . . with excellent time and flourishes . . ."[15] His sentiments were with the Union during the Civil War and on more than one occasion ". . . he wanted to take his drum and go down to Rochester, and beat for volunteers."[16] His presence at one recruiting effort, in 1862, for the 140th New York Regiment, was described as having caused "excitement and enthusiasm." In his last years, the drummer boy was described as ". . . small, more so than his picture would indicate. Though never robust, his health has always been good. This has not been from any special carefulness in his habits—in which he has been careless—rather giving himself and his health no thought. He uses tea and coffee and takes regularly his dram."[17] The date of Alexander Maroney's death is unknown, however, some reports indicate that his last birthday was his one hundred fourth.

Officers of the First New York Regiment
1775–1783

A

Aorson, Aaron	Captain

B

Bagley, Josiah	Lieutenant
Bancker, Abraham	Lieutenant
Beeker, Cornelius	Lieutenant
Beekman, Gerard	Lieutenant
Benedict, Joseph	Major
Bicker, Victor	Lieutenant
Bleeker, Leonard	Captain
Bloodgood, William	Ensign
Bogardus, Benjamin	Lieutenant
Bonnell, James	Ensign
Brasher, Abraham	Lieutenant
Brogdon, John	Lieutenant-Adjutant
Brown, Jonathan	Ensign
Brown, William	Captain

C

Carr, Joseph	Lieutenant-Quarter Master
Cheesman, Jacob	Captain
Clarke, Mathias	Lieutenant
Clinton, Alexander	Ensign
Copp, John	Captain
Curtis, Benjamin	Surgeon

D

DeGroot, Joseph	Lieutenant
Denny, John	Lieutenant
DePeyster, William W.	Ensign
Diefendorf, Henry	Lieutenant
Dunn, William	Lieutenant
Dunscomb, Edward	Lieutenant

E

Edmonston, Robert	Captain
Elliot, John	Surgeon's Mate
Evans, Israel	Chaplain

F

Fairly, James	Ensign
Finck, Andrew	Captain
Fonda, Douw	Ensign
Fonda, John	Ensign
Fondey, John	Ensign

Forbes, William A.	Lieutenant
Fowler, Theodosius	Ensign
Freligh, Solomon	Chaplain—("never joined")
Furman, John	Lieutenant

G

Gano, Daniel	Lieutenant
Gilbert, Benjamin	Lieutenant
Gilleland, William	Lieutenant
Goforth, William	Captain
Graham, John	Major
Gregg, James	Captain

H

Hardenburgh, Abraham	Lieutenant
Henry, Nathaniel	Lieutenant
Herring, Benjamin	Ensign
Hicks, Benjamin	Captain
Hobby, Caleb	Lieutenant
Horton, Ambrose	Captain
Houghkirk, John	Lieutenant
Houston, John	Lieutenant
Hughes, James M.	Lieutenant
Hughes, Timothy	Lieutenant
Hyatt, Ezekiel	Captain

J

Jansen, Cornelius T.	Captain
Johnson, John	Captain
Johnson, John	Lieutenant
Jones, Benjamin	Ensign

K

Klock, Jacob J.	Ensign

L

Lansing, Gerrit	Ensign
Lawrence, John	Lieutenant-Paymaster
Ledyard, Benjamin	Major
Ledyard, Isaac	Surgeon's Mate
Lewis, Samuel	Lieutenant
Livingston, Gilbert M.	Ensign
Lyburn, Benjamin	Lieutenant
Lyon, David	Captain

M

Magee, Peter	Lieutenant
Marsh, John	Ensign
Marvin, Joseph	Surgeon's Mate
Mead, William	Surgeon
Moore, James	Ensign

Morrell, Joseph	Ensign
Mott, Gershom	Captain
Muller, Christopher	Lieutenant
Muller, Jeremiah C.	Ensign

Mc

McCracken, Joseph	Captain
McDougall, Alexander	Colonel
McDougall, John A.	Lieutenant
McDougall, Ranald T.	Lieutenant
McKean, Robert	Captain

N

Nicol, Edward	Lieutenant

O

Oakley, Ezekiel	Lieutenant
Odlum, Digby	Lieutenant

P

Parsons, Charles	Captain
Payne, James W.	Lieutenant
Pearcy, John	Lieutenant
Pelton, Benjamin	Lieutenant
Pioneer, Isaac	Ensign
Platt, Richard	Lieutenant

Q

Quackenboss, John	Captain

R

Ritzema, Rudolphus	Lieutenant Colonel
Roosevelt, Cornelius C.	Ensign
Ryckman, Wilhelmus	Lieutenant

S

Salisbury, Barent Staats	Lieutenant
Scudder, William	Lieutenant
Sherwood, Adiel	Lieutenant
Snow, Ephraim (Ephram)	Lieutenant
Stenrod, Cornelius	Captain
Swartwout, Henry	Lieutenant
Sweet, Caleb	Surgeon
Sytez, George	Captain

T

Tapp, William	Lieutenant-Quarter Master
Taylor, Andrew	Lieutenant
Tearse, Peter B.	Lieutenant-Adjutant
Ten Broeck, Adam	Ensign
Ten Broeck, John C.	Captain

Ten Eyck, Abraham	Lieutenant-Pay Master
Thorn, Samuel	Lieutenant
Tiebout, Henry	Captain
Titus, Isaac	Lieutenant
Tripp, William D.	Lieutenant
Tuttle, Barnabus	Major

V

Van Dyck, Cornelius	Lieutenant Colonel
Van Hook, Arent	Lieutenant
Van Ness, David	Captain
Van Rensselaer, Jeremiah	Lieutenant-Pay Master
Van Rensselaer, Nicholas	Captain
Van Schaick, Goose	Colonel
Van Valkenburgh, Bartholomew	Lieutenant
Van Veghten, Tobias	Lieutenant
Van Waggenon, Garret	Lieutenant
Van Woert, Henry	Lieutenant-Quarter Master
Van Wyck, Abraham	Captain
Varick, Richard	Captain
Vergereau, Peter	Ensign

W

Walker, Benjamin	Lieutenant
Waldron, John	Ensign
Watkins, John W.	Lieutenant
Weissenfels, Frederick	Captain
Wendell, Jacob H.	Lieutenant-Adjutant
Wendell, John	Captain
Wiley, John	Captain
Willett, Marinus	Captain
Wilson, Robert	Ensign
Woodruff, Hunlock	Surgeon's Mate

Y

Yates, Christopher P.	Major
Young, Guy	Captain
Young, Samuel	Ensign

Z

Zedtwitz, Herman	Lieutenant Colonel

Note: The designation of rank set opposite each name indicates the highest rank attained in the Regiment by the individual officer.

Chapter Notes

The following abbreviations are used throughout the succeeding chapter notes:
NYHS - New York Historical Society, New York City.
NYPL - New York Public Library, New York City.

Chapter One

1. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Volume XV, Archives of the State of New York, Berthold Fernow, Vol. I, p. 13 (hereafter cited as Colonial Documents).
2. Ibid., p. 11.
3. Ibid., p. 19.
4. Ibid., p. 23.
5. Ibid., p. 23.
6. Ibid., p. 23.
7. *New York in the Revolution as Colony and State*, Supplement, Vol. 2, p. 24.
8. Colonial Documents, p. 17.
9. Ibid., p. 22.
10. Ibid., p. 12.
11. Ibid., p. 54.
12. *The War of the Revolution*, Christopher Ward, Vol. I, p. 146.
13. *The New York Journal - Thursday, July 27, 1775*, NYHS "Captain John Weissenvelt" quoted in the advertisement was an incorrect name spelling and referred to Captain Frederick Weissenfel.
14. *John Jay to Alexander McDougall, Philadelphia, Dec. 22, 1775,* McDougall Papers, NYHS.
15. *A Monthly Return of the 10 Companies of the first Regiment of the Continental Forces raised in the Colony of New York, Commanded by Col. McDougall, New York, 1st August 1775,* Colonial Documents, p. 251.
16. Ibid., Appendix, p. 527.
17. *A Monthly Return of the 10 Companies of the first Regiment of the Continental Forces raised in the Colony of New York, Commanded by Col. McDougall, New York, 1st August 1775,* Colonial Documents, p. 251.
18. *Muster Roll of Capt^t Goforth's Comp^y of the First Regiment of Continental Forces now in the Service of the United Colonies, Camp at Ticonderoga the 19th day of Sept^r 1775,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 1-2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
19. *Muster Roll of Capt. John Quackenbos' Company of the first Reg^t of New York Troops in the Service of the United Colonies Camp at Ticonderoga 20th day of Septemb^r 1775,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 1-2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
20. *A Muster Roll of Capt. Richard Varicks Company in ye first Regiment of New York Forces under Ye Command of Colonel Alexander McDougal now in service of the United Colonies dated at Ticonderoga ye 6th Day of October Anno Domini 1775,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 2-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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21. Colonial Documents, p. 24.
22. *August 10, 1775, Journal of Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema of the First New York Regiment, August 8, 1775 to March 30, 1776,* (hereafter cited as Ritzema Journal), NYHS.
23. Colonial Documents, p. 35.
24. Ritzema Journal, Aug. 19, 1775.
25. Ibid., Aug. 20, 1775.
26. Ibid., Aug. 21, 1775.
27. Ward I, p. 150.
28. Ritzema Journal, Aug. 28, 1775.
29. Ibid., Aug. 29, 1775.
30. Ibid., Sept. 6, 1775.
31. Ibid., Sept. 10, 1775.
32. Ibid., Sept. 10, 1775.
33. Ibid., Oct. 18, 1775.
34. Ward I, pp. 147, 158.
35. Ibid., p. 158.
36. Ibid., p. 161.
37. Ibid.
38. *Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783,* National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246 Roll #65. Jacket 1-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
39. Colonial Documents, p. 38.
40. *Colonel McDougall to General Schuyler, New York, November 14, 1775,* McDougall Papers, NYHS.
41. *Lieutenant Colonel Ritzema to Colonel McDougall, Montreal, November 19, 1775,* McDougall Papers, NYHS.
42. Ritzema Journal, Nov. 28, 1775.
43. Ward I, p. 190.
44. Ibid.
45. *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution,* B. J. Lossing, Vol. I, p. 198.
46. Ward I, p. 201n.
47. *Muster Roll of Capt Jacob Cheesmans Company in the 1st Regt of New York Forces in the Service of the United Colonies now in Cantonment before Quebec Feb$_y$ 17th 1776,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246 Roll #65. Jacket 1-2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
48. *Muster Roll of Cap^t Cheesmans Company from 1 Jan^y 1776 to the 30th Inclusive,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783. National Archives Microfilm Publications. Microcopy 246 Roll #65. Jacket 1-2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
49. Colonel Documents, p. 131n.

Chapter Two

1. *George Measam to Colonel McDougall - Montreal - March 31, 1776,* McDougall Papers, NYHS.
2. Through a lack of research and reference to erroneous secondary sources, some authors have indicated that Colonel John Nicholson became commander of the First New York Regiment as a result of the reorganization of the troops in Canada in late 1775 and early 1776. Falling victims to the same shortcomings, other authors have indicated that Colonel James Livingston became commander

of the First New York Regiment. Both assumptions are unwarranted and obviously incorrect. The record is eminently clear that Alexander McDougall was Commander of the First New York Regiment from the time the Regiment was raised on June 30, 1775 until he was promoted to brigadier general on August 12, 1776. From August 12, 1776 until November 21, 1776, the Regiment was without a commander; having no colonel, no lieutenant colonel and after October 10, 1776, no major. On November 21, 1776, Colonel Goose Van Schaick was named commander of the First New York Regiment and he served in that capacity until the end of the war.

3. *Orderly Book of Colonel McDougall's First New York Regiment - New York City - February 9, 1776 to June 11, 1776,* NYHS, Apr. 19, 1776 (hereafter cited as McDougall's Orderly Book).

4. *Regimental Orders, April 12, 1776 - Orderly Book of Capt. David Lyon's Company - 1st N. Y. Regiment - New York City, March 25, 1776 to May 24, 1776,* NYPL (hereafter cited as Lyon's Orderly Book).

5. *Pay Roll of Capt. John Wiley's Company whereof Alexander McDougall Esqr. is Colonel Commencing the 14th day of February and Ending the 31st Day of March 1776 both days Included,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 2-2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

6. *American Archives.* Peter Force, 5th Series, Vol. I, p. 646.

7. *Return of the Officers Names, their Ranks and the dates of their Commissions in 1776 in the Continental Services belonging to the First Regiment of Foot Raised by the Colony of New York - July 1776,* American Archives. Peter Force, Fifth Series, Vol. I, p. 644.

8. *Lyon's Orderly Book,* Regimental Orders, Mar. 24, 1776.
9. Ibid., Regimental Orders, May 31, 1776.
10. Ibid., Regimental Orders, May 26, 1776.
11. Ibid., Regimental Orders, Mar. 24, 1776.
12. Ibid., Regimental Orders, Mar. 24, 1776.
13. Ibid., Regimental Orders, May 21, 1776.

14. *Return of the Officers Names, their Ranks and the dates of their Commissions in 1776 in the Continental Services belonging to the First Regiment of Foot Raised by the Colony of New York - July 1776,* American Archives. Peter Force, Fifth Series, Vol. I, p. 644.

15. *Cash Advance for Coming down from Fort George Albany - to the Men belonging to Capt. John Johnsons Company - New York - 24 Feb to 31 Mar 76,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 1-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

16. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Apr. 5, 1776.

17. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* Volume XV, Archives of the State of New York. Berthold Fernow, Vol. I, p. 91 (hereafter cited as Colonial Documents).

18. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Mar. 24, 1776.
19. Ibid., Mar. 31, 1776.
20. *Colonial Documents,* p. 252.
21. Ibid., p. 100.
22. *Colonial Documents,* p. 97.
23. Ibid., pp. 40, 41, 42.
24. *McDougall Orderly Book.*
25. Ibid., Mar. 14, 1776.
26. Ibid., Apr. 12, 1776.

27. Ibid., Feb. 9, 1776.
28. Ibid., Feb. 25, 1776.
29. Ibid., Mar. 3, 1776.
30. *The Campaign of 1776,* H. P. Johnson, page 86.
31. Force, 4th Series, Vol. V, p. 480.

32. *Weekly Returns of the First New York Regiment for Sept. 19th, Sept. 28th, Oct. 4th and October 10, 1776,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 1-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

33. *George Washington to Major General Philip Schuyler - New York - August 7, 1776,* Writings of Washington, J. C. Fitzpatrick, Vol. V, p. 384.

34. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Mar. 24, 1776.
35. Ibid., May 24, 1776.
36. *Lyons Orderly Book,* Regiment Orders, Apr. 26, 1776.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Apr. 27, 1776.

40. It was not uncommon for a regiment to fall out in front of the commanding officer's quarters. Colonel McDougall's quarters were at Mrs. McGowan's house on Queen Street.

41. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Mar. 24, 1776.
42. Ibid., Mar. 26, 1776.
43. *Colonial Documents,* p. 78.
44. *Lyon's Orderly Book,* Regimental Orders, May 6, 1776.
45. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Regimental Orders, May 26, 1776.
46. *Lyon's Orderly Book,* May 13, 1776.
47. Ibid., May 8, 1776.
48. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Mar. 27, 1776.
49. *Lyon's Orderly Book,* May 6, 1776.
50. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Regimental Orders, Apr. 26, 1776.
51. Ibid.
52. *1776 - A Day by Day Story,* Jonathan Rawson, p. 232.
53. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Feb. 10, 1776.
54. *Lyon's Orderly Book,* May 13, 1776.
55. *McDougall Orderly Book,* May 26, 1776.
56. *Lyon's Orderly Book,* Regimental Orders, Apr. 19, 1776.
57. *Colonial Documents,* p. 90.
58. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Apr. 22, 1776.
59. Ibid., Apr. 19, 1776.
60. *Lyon's Orderly Book,* Regimental Orders, Mar. 28, 1776.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Colonial Documents, p. 81.
64. *McDougall Orderly Book,* May 7, 1776.
65. Ibid., Apr. 19, 1776.

66. *Subsistence money Due to Officers & Privates of Captain William Browns Company of the Regiment Whereof Alexander McDougal Esq. is Colonel Commencing the 24 of February 1776 and Ending the 31 of March both days Included,* National Archives Microfilm Publications. Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 1-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

67. *Billetting Roll of Captain John Johnsons Company in the 1st Regt Commanded by Colonel McDougall Commencing February 24 Ending March 31st*

1776, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246 Roll #65, Jacket 2-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

68. *McDougall Orderly Book,* May 26, 1776.

69. *The Iconography of Manhattan Island,* I. N. Phelps Stokes, p. 1,005.

70. *Historical Guide to the City of New York,* Frank B. Kelley, p. 95.

71. *The Connecticut Gazett,* New London, Connecticut, Aug. 30, 1776.

72. *The Campaign of 1776,* H. P. Johnson, p. 132.

73. *McDougall Orderly Book,* Apr. 2, 5, & 11, 1776.

74. Ibid., Apr. 8, 1776.

75. *Lyon's Orderly Book,* May 8, 1776.

76. *Writings of George Washington,* J. C. Fitzpatrick, V. p.32.

77. Fitzpatrick, V, p. 99.

78. Fitzpatrick, V, p. 111.

79. Fitzpatrick, V, p. 468.

80. Fitzpatrick, V, p. 12.

81. Fitzpatrick, V, p. 42.

82. Fitzpatrick, V, p. 101.

83. *McDougall Orderly Book,* May 29, 1776.

84. *General Orders - Head Quarters, New York, June 8, 1776,* Fitzpatrick, V. p. 106.

85. Ibid.

86. *Nov. 24, 1776 - Orderly Book, Brigade of General Alexander McDougall, August 12, 1776 to November 27, 1776,* NYHS (hereafter cited as Orderly Book McDougall's Brigade).

87. *Self-defence of Lieutenant Colonel Zedtwitz - Proceeding of a General Court Martial of the Line, held at Head Quarters, in the City of New York, by order of His Excellency George Washington Esq., General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the United States of America for the trial of Herman Zedtwitz, Lieutenant Colonel in the Army of said States, August 25, 1776,* Force, 5th Series, I, p. 1161 (hereafter cited as Defense of Zedtwitz).

88. *Remarks on the Officers and vacant Commissions in the First Regiment of New-Yorkers, in the service of the free United States of North America,* Force, 5th Series, I, p. 646.

89. Ibid.

90. *H. Zedtwitz Lt. Coll*$_o$ *to His Excellency Governor Tryon - New York Aug. 24, 1776,* Force-5th Series, I, p. 1161.

91. Ibid.

92. Fitzpatrick, V, p. 489.

93. *Testimony of Brigadier General Lord Stirling,* Defense of Zedtwitz.

94. Decision of the Court, Defense of Zedtwitz.

95. *H. Zedtwitz to General Washington - Morristown, October 25, 1776,* Force - 5th Series, II, p. 1217.

96. Force,5th Series, III, p. 1579.

97. Ibid.

98. Force, 5th Series, I, p. 918.

99. *Orderly Book McDougall's Brigade,* Aug. 12, 1776.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid., Aug. 13, 1776.

102. Ibid., Aug. 14, 1776.

103. Ibid., Aug. 13 & 14, 1776.

104. Ibid., Aug. 23, 1776.

105. Ibid., Aug. 30, 1776.

106. Ibid., Sept. 1, 1776.

107. *Weekly Returns of the First New York Regiment for the Weeks of Sept. 13, 1776, Sept. 19, 1776, Oct. 4, 1776 and Oct. 10, 1776,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65 Jacket 1-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid.

111. *Return of the 1st Regiment of Foot in the Service of the United Colonies commanded by late Coll (now Genl McDougal) October 4, 1776,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll -65, Jacket 1-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

112. *Weekly Returns of the First New York Regiment for the Weeks of Sept. 13, 1776, Sept. 19, 1776, October 4, 1776 and October 10, 1776, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783,* National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 1-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

113. Orderly Book McDougall's Brigade, Sept. 4, 1776.

114. Ibid., Sept. 25, 1776.

115. Ibid., Sept. 3, 1776.

116. Ibid., Sept. 22, 1776.

117. Ibid., Oct. 7, 1776.

118. Ibid., Oct. 8, 1776.

119. Ibid., Sept. 2, 1776; Sept. 29, 1776; Oct. 9, 1776.

120. Ibid., Oct. 15, 1776.

121. Force, 5th Series, 2, p. 1096.

122. *Orderly Book McDougall's Brigade,* Oct. 20, 1776.

123. Force, 5th Series, Vol. 2, p. 1167.

124. *Memoirs of Major General Heath,* William Heath, p. 78.

125. Ibid., p. 79.

126. Force, 5th Series, III, pp. 728, 730.

127. *Orderly Book McDougall's Brigade,* Nov. 5, 16, 1776.

128. Force, 5th Series, III, p. 361.

129. *Orderly Book McDougall's Brigade,* Nov. 11, 1776.

130. Ibid., Nov. 3, 1776.

131. *Colonel McDougall to General Washington - New York - July 26, 1776,* Force, 5th Series, I, p. 602.

132. *Orderly Book McDougall's Brigade,* Nov. 10, 19, 27, 1776.

133. Force, 5th Series, II, p. 1166.

134. *Colonel Ritzema to General McDougall,* Force, 5th Series, III, p. 952.

135. Comments regarding most of the officers in the First New York Regiment during 1776 appear in *American Archives,* Force, 5th Series, III, p. 950.

136. Force, 5th Series, III, p. 241.

137. *Memoirs of Major General Heath,* William Heath, p. 84.

138. *History of Rockland County,* Reverend David Cole, p. 44.

139. Ibid., p. 52.

140. Force, 5th Series, Vol. III, p. 1264.

141. *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton,* William S. Stryker, p. 355.

142. *The War of the Revolution,* Christopher Ward, I, p. 289.

143. Ibid., p. 294.

144. *The American Revolution,* George Otto Trevelyan, Part 2, I, p. 113.

145. *John Johnson to Robert Harper - Morris-Town - Dec. 16, 1776,* Force, 5th Series, III, p. 1247.

146. Ibid.

147. *Pay Receipts of the First New York Regiment,* NYHS.

Chapter Three

1. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* Vol. XV, Archives of the State of New York. Berthold Fernow, Vol. I, p. 141 (hereafter cited as Colonial Documents).

2. *American Archives,* Peter Force, 5th Series, III, p. 313.

3. *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution.* Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York, I, p. 5 (hereafter cited as Calendar of Historical Manuscripts).

4. Colonial Documents, p. 147.

5. Ibid., p. 149.

6. *Revolutionary Manuscripts,* Vol. XVII, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

7. *Colonel Peter Gansevoort to Robert Yates, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, Albany, December 3, 1776,* Force, 5, III, p. 1062.

8. *Jacob Cuyler to William Duer, Albany, Dec. 14, 1776,* Force, 5, III, p. 1221.

9. *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York,* Vol. II, p. 374 (hereafter cited as Congressional Journals.)

10. *Colonel Van Schaick to Robert Yates, Albany, Jan. 8, 1777,* Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution, Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York, Vol. I, p. 23.

11. Congressional Journals, II, p. 261.

12. *A Muster Roll of the Field, Staff and other Commissioned Officers in the first New York Battalion in the service of the United States Commanded by Colonel Goose Van Schaick, November 21, 1776 to June 29, 1777,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 3-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C. and Force 5, III, pp. 949, 950, 951, 952.

13. *A Return of the first New York Regiment, specifying the number of Men Enlisted by each Officer, Albany, 24th March 1777,* Journals of the Provincial Congress. Committee of Safety & Council of Safety of the State of New York, Vol. II, p. 399.

14. *Colonel Van Schaick to the Committee of Arrangement, March 24, 1777,* Journals of the Provincial Congress, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York, Volume II, p. 851.

15. Force, 5, III, p. 796.

16. *Account Book of John Tayler - Albany, New York - June 1776 to Apr. 1777,* (hereafter cited as Tayler Account Book) NYHS.

17. *Glossary of Eighteenth Century Trade Terms,* The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 1647–1877, Philip L. White, p. 649 (hereafter cited as glossary of Trade Terms).

18. Ibid., p. 647.

19. The color of the coats described as ''Drab'' has been the subject of some discussion. While no specific description or reference has come to light to define precisely the color referred to as ''Drab,'' perhaps it is safe to say that by process of elimination it was somewhat different from those colors more specifically defined; that is, blue, red, brown, gray or gradations such as light blue, dark blue, light brown, dark brown, etc. Some general agreement exists that ''Drab'' was probably somewhere between gray and brown and tending more to the latter. Some sources have indicated it to be a color generally dull in appearance and which might be described as a light brownish, tan or ''butternut.'' Olive drab is a term applied to the color of later day military uniforms and generally refers to a greenish brown or khaki color. The association of the color referred to as olive drab with the uniforms of 1777 is both unlikely and pure speculation. In any event, ''Drab'' continues to defy precise description.

20. Tayler Account Book, Jan. 14, 1777 & Feb. 3, 1777.

21. Ibid., Jan. 24, 25, 1777.

22. Ibid., Feb. 15, 1777 and Glossary of Trade Terms, p. 646.

23. Glossary of Trade Terms, p. 653.

24. *General Gates to President of the State of Massachusetts, Albany, May 9, 1777.* Gates Papers, NYHS.

25. *General Gates to General Washington, Albany, May 21, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

26. *General Gates to General Paterson, Albany, May 23, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

27. *George Washington to Major General Israel Putnam, Headquarters, Clove, July 22, 1777,* Writings of George Washington, J. C. Fitzpatrick, Vol. VIII, p. 450.

28. *Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, 1775–1778,* Vol. I, p. 680 (hereafter cited as Minutes Albany Committee)

29. Ibid., p. 648.

30. Fitzpatrick, VII, p. 69.

31. Congressional Journals, II, p. 373.

32. *General Gates to Colonel Mason, Albany, May 21, 1777.* Gates Papers, NYHS.

33. *Captain Varick to General Schuyler, Albany, August 4, 1776.* Force, 5, I, p. 795.

34. *George Washington to Major General Israel Putnam, Headquarters, Galloways in Smiths Clove, July 22, 1777,* Fitzpatrick, VII, p. 451.

35. *Orderly Book of Colonel Alexander McDougall's First New York Regiment, New York City, Feb. 9, 1776 to June 11, 1776,* NYHS, May 30, 1776.

36. Force, 5, III, p. 936.

37. *A Muster Roll of the Field, Staff and other Commissioned Officers in the first New York Battalion in the service of the United States Commanded by Colonel Goose Van Schaick, November 21, 1776 to June 29, 1777,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246 Roll #65, Jacket 3-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C. and Force, 5, III, pp. 949, 950, 951, 952.

38. Force, 5, I, p. 796.

39. Fitzpatrick, VII, p. 424.

40. Congressional Journals, I, p. 851.

41. *Goose Van Schaick to General Gates, Saratoga, May 23, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

42. *Philip Schuyler to George Washington, July 18, 1777,* Fitzpatrick, VIII, p. 409.

43. Force, 5, I, p. 661.

44. Force, 5, I, p. 653.

45. Fitzpatrick, V, p. 303.

46. Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, I, p. 23.

47. *Colonel Van Schaick to Robert Yates - Albany, Jan. 8, 1777,* Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, I, p. 23.

48. Fitzpatrick, VII, p. 423.

49. *Cornelius Van Dyck to General Gates, Fort George, May 4, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

50. *General Gates to Lieutenant Colonel Van Dyck, Albany, May 8, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

51. Colonial Documents, pp. 181, 182.

52. Ibid., pp. 175 to 183.

53. *Inlistments - Captain John H. Wendell's Company,* Muster Rolls & Returns, New York Line, First Regiment, NYHS.

54. Colonial Documents, p. 182.

55. *Public Papers of George Clinton,* Vol. II, p. 62 (hereafter cited as Clinton Papers).

56. *Philip Schuyler to Pierre Van Cortlandt, Albany, June 30, 1777,* Public Papers of George Clinton, II, p. 63.

57. *The War of the Revolution,* Christopher Ward, Vol, I, p. 418.

58. *Goose Van Schaick to General Gates, Saratoga, May 23, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

59. *Army Returns 1776–1783,* Gates Papers, June 1, 1777, NYHS.

60. *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution,* B. J. Lossing, Vol. I, p. 141.

61. Ibid., I, p. 95.

62. *A Return of the Troops of the United States at Fort Edward under the Command of Captain Joseph McCracken, June 2, 1777,* Army Returns 1776–1783, Gates Papers, NYHS.

63. *Book of Military Stores Delivered Feb. 1777- Nov. 1778,* pp. 43, 45, 47, 51 War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93. Numbered Record Books, Vol. 129, Microcopy 853 Roll #39, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Book of Military Stores).

64. Ward, II, p. 497.

65. Lossing, I, p. 101 and Colonial Documents, p. 176.

66. Clinton Papers, II, p. 244.

67. *Goose Van Schaick to General Gates, Saratoga, May 23, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

68. Clinton Papers, II, p. 244.

69. *Henry B. Livingston to Captain Finck, Commanding at Saratoga, Fort Edward, June 16, 1777,* Andrew Finck, John B. Koetteritz, p. 30, NYHS.

70. *Goose Van Schaick to General Gates, Saratoga May 23, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

71. *Christopher P. Yates to Captain Finck, Fort Edward, June 25, 1777,* Andrew Finck, John B. Koetteritz, p. 31, NYHS.

72. Manuscript File, War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records. Microcopy 859, Item #20448. National Archives, Washington, D.C. and Book of Military Stores, pp. 60, 62, 66.

73. *The Story of Old Saratoga and the History of Schuylerville,* J. H. Brandow, p. 81.

74. *Diary of Lieutenant William Digby,* Shropshire Regiment, 53rd Regiment of Foot, Aug. 13, 1777, Clinton Papers, II, p. 245.

75. Van Schaick's Island was a part of the lands of Anthony Van Schaick, a cousin of Colonel Goose Van Schaick.

76. Minutes Albany Committee, Feb. 1777, I, p. 691.

77. Congressional Journals, I, p. 851.

78. Colonial Documents, p. 185.

79. *Goose Van Schaick to the President of the Council of the State of New York,* Force, 5, I, p. 1040. The Committee thereupon ordered that "The said Canadian prisoner be delivered to Abraham B. Bancker, the commissary for prisoners of war in this State, and that the said commissary have all the prisoners of war in this State removed from thence to Goshen, in Orange County."

80. *Goose Van Schaick to the President of the Council of Safety of the State of New York,* Force, 5, I, p. 440.

81. Minutes Albany Committee, Jan. 7, 1777, p. 654.

82. Ibid., Apr. 2, 1777, p. 711.

83. Ibid., Sept. 4, 1777, p. 840.

84. Ibid., Mar. 3, 1777, p. 694.

85. *General Herkimer to General Schuyler, "Canajohary District - July 15, 1777,"* "Fort Stanwix and Oriskany," John A. Scott, p. 144.

86. *Philip Schuyler to Colonel Van Schaick, Fort Edward, July 19, 1777,* The Orderly Book of General Philip Schuyler Fort Edward, Albany June 29, 1777 to August 18, 1777. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. (hereafter cited as Schuyler Orderly Book).

87. *Goose Van Schaick to General Gates, Saratoga May 13, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

88. *Goose Van Schaick to General Gates, Saratoga May 23, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

89. Minutes Albany Committee, p. 815.

90. *Horatio Gates to Colonel Goose Van Schaick, Albany, August 19, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

91. *Goose Van Schaick to General Schuyler, Schenectady, Aug. 4, 1777,* Clinton Papers, II, p. 169.

92. *Philip Schuyler to Colonel Van Schaick, Stillwater, Aug. 6, 1777,* Schuyler Orderly Book.

93. *Philip Schuyler to General Washington, Stillwater, Aug. 13, 1777,* Learned's Expedition to the Relief of Fort Stanwix. Address of Peter Nelson, Assistant New York State Historian, Sept. 8, 1928 and *Revolutionary Journal of Col. Jeduthan Baldwin, Aug. 12, 1777,* N. Y. Times & Arno Press, p. 114.

94. *Marinus Willett,* Howard Thomas, p. 82.

95. *At a Council of War held at Fort Dayton, German Flatts, August 21, 1777 - B. Arnold, President,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

96. *Benedict Arnold to General Gates, German Flatts, Aug. 28, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

97. *Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783,* National Archives Microfilm Publications. Microcopy 246 Roll #65, and Minutes Albany Committee, Apr. 2, 1777, p. 711.

98. *A Muster Roll of the Field, Staff and other Commissioned Officers in the first Battalion New York in the Service of the United States Commanded by Colonel Goose Van Schaick - June 29, 1777 to October 4, 1777,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246 Roll #65, Jacket 3-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

99. *Orderly Book of Lt. Col. Marinus Willet - 3rd N. Y. Regt. - Feb. 18, 1777 to May 21, 1778,* NYHS (hereafter cited as Willetts Orderly Book).

100. Ibid., Sept. 2, 1777.

101. Ibid., Sept. 2, 1777.

102. Ibid., Sept. 20, 1777.

103. Ibid., Sept. 10, 1777.

104. Ibid., Sept. 15, 1777.

105. Ibid., Sept. 20, 1777.

106. Ibid., Sept. 23, 1777.

107. Ibid., Sept. 17, 1777.

108. Ibid., Sept. 4, 1777.

109. Ibid., Sept. 20, 1777.

110. Lossing, I, p. 255.

111. *"A Monthly Return of the Garrison at Fort Dayton" - Oct. 1, 1777,* Army Returns 1776–1783, Gates Papers, NYHS.

112. *William Petrie to General Gates, Fort Dayton November 2, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

113. *Return of Provisions issued by Bethuel Washburn A. Commissary of Issues at Albany in the State of N. Y. N. Dept. from 9 Nov. 1777 to 15th both included,* War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Numbered Record Books, Vol. 121, Microcopy 853, Roll #41, page 412, National Archives Microfilm Publications, National Archives, Washington, D.C. and *Return of the Number of men on Command by Berth Washburn Asst. D. Com'issary of Stores at Albany Dr from the 16th thru 22nd Nov 1777 both day included, (also "from 14 Dec 1777 thru 20th both days included"),* Gates Papers NYHS.

114. *Goose Van Schiack to General Gates, Schenectady, November 3, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

115. Ibid.

116. Book of Military Stores, pp. 42, 43, 50, 70.

117. Ibid., p. 133.

118. *Minutes of the Schenectady Committee of Correspondence 1775–1779,* Vol. II, p. 1126.

119. Ibid., p. 1129.

120. Ibid.

121. *Christopher Yates to General Gates, Schenectady, Nov. 13, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

122. *Philip Schuyler to General Gates, Saratoga, Nov. 20, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

123. *Horatio Gates to Philip Schuyler, Albany, Nov. 9, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

124. Wendell's, Colonial Documents, p. 183. Graham's, *Minutes of the Schenectady Committee of Correspondence 1775–1779,* Vol. II, p. 1141.

125. *Horatio Gates to Colonel Greaton, Albany, Dec. 20, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

126. *Horatio Gates to Colonel Goose Van Schiack, Albany, Dec. 28, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

127. *John Barclay to General Gates October 9, 1777,* Gates Papers, NYHS.

Chapter Four

1. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York.* Vol. XV. Archives of the State of New York Berthold Fernow, Vol. I, p. 184 (hereafter cited as Colonial Documents).

2. *Minutes of the Schenectady Committee of Correspondence - 1775–1779.* Division of Archives and History, Vol. II, p. 1140 (hereafter cited as Schenectady Committee.)

3. Ibid.

4. Colonial Documents, p. 184.

5. Ibid., p. 176.

6. Schenectady Committee, p. 1141.

7. *G. Van Schaick to Governor Clinton - Schenectady, Feb. 22, 1778,* Public Papers of George Clinton, Vol. II, p. 790.

8. *George Clinton to General Conway - Poughkeepsie, 17 Feb. 1778,* Public Papers of George Clinton, Vol. II, p. 775.

9. *George Clinton to "Mr. Henry Commissary of Cloathing for the State of New York" - Poughkeepsie, 17 Feb'y 1778,* Public Papers of George Clinton, Vol. II, p. 765.

10. *Public Papers of George Clinton,* Vol. II, p. 808 (hereafter cited as Clinton Papers).

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90. Ibid.

91. *George Washington to Brigadier General James Clinton - Head Quarters, New Windsor, June 16, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 225.

92. *Albany Friday July 6th 1781 - Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment 1778–1781 and the Second New York Regiment 1780–1783*, Samuel Talmadge et al, Division of Archives and History, University of the State of New York, page 754.

93. *General Orders - Head Quarters Near Dobbs Ferry - Friday, August 10, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 487.

94. *George Washington to Major General Alexander McDougall - Head Quarters, Dobbs Ferry, August 10, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 490.

95. General Orders - Head Quarters Near Dobbs Ferry - Friday, August 10, 1781, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 487.

96. *G. V. Schaick to Henry Glen esq. - West Point August 10 1781,* Glen Papers, NYHS.

97. *General Orders - Head Quarters Near Dobbs Ferry - Friday, August 10, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 488.

98. *George Washington to Major General Alexander McDougall - Head Quarters, Dobbs ferry, July 27, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 421.

99. *General Orders - Head Quarters near Dobbs Ferry - Sunday August 5, 1781,* Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 462.

100. *General Orders - Monday, August 13, 1781,* Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 495.

101. *George Washington to Major General Alexander McDougall - Head Quarters, Dobb's Ferry, August 10, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 489.

102. *General Orders - Head Quarters Near Dobbs Ferry - Friday, August 10, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 487.

103. *General Orders - Headquarters near Dobbs Ferry, Thursday August 9, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 486.

104. *After Orders - Wednesday, August 15, 1781,* Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 501.

105. Colonial Documents, p. 176.

106. *Return of Provisions Issued by Betheul Washburn D Commissary of Issued at Albany in the State of New York Northern Department from November 9th to November 15, 1777*, War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Vol. 121, Record of Receipt and Issuance of Provisions and Stores, Microcopy 853, Roll #41, p. 412, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Also *The Story of Old Saratoga*, John Henry Brandow, p. 291.

107. Details on the makeup of General Schuyler's Guard can be found in a number of places. The number of men, their names and some details about them, the companies of the First New York from which they came, the times during

which they served in Schuyler's Guard, etc. can be found, among other sources, in the following.

a) Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Vol XV, Archives of the State of New York, Vol. I, pp. 174–185.
b) Revolutionary War Rolls, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Rolls #65 and #66.
c) Gates Papers, NYHS.
d) Returns of the First New York Regiment of Foot Commanded by Goose Van Schaick Esq. Colonel, Book of Monthly Return; February 1, 1779 to January 1, 1781, NYHS
e) Muster Rolls and Returns, New York Line, First Regiment, NYHS.

108. *Philip Schuyler to His Excellency Governor Clinton - Albany, August 9th 1781,* Clinton Papers, VII, p. 184.
109. Ibid., p. 185.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
114. *The Story of Old Saratoga*, John Henry Brandow, p. 314.
115. *Friday, May 25, 1781 - Journals of the Continental Congress 1774–1789*, Worthington Chauncey Ford, Vol. XX, page 540 (hereafter cited as Journals Continental Congress).
116. *Report from the Board of War - War Office - June 28th 1781 - Read Friday, June 29, 1781*, Journals Continental Congress, XX, p. 712.
117. *George Washington to Colonel Elias Dayton - Head Quarters Peekskill June 28, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 275.
118. *Geo. Washington to His Excellency Gov'r Clinton - Head Quarters New Windsor, Feb'y 8th 1781*, Clinton Papers, VI, p. 638.
119. *Report of the Board of War - War Office June 28th, 1781*, Journals Continental Congress, XX, p. 712.
120. *G V Schaick to Genl Washington - Head Quarters Camp Near Kingsferry 23 August 1781*, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.
121. *George Clinton to the Delegates - Poughkeepsie, 27 August 1781*, Clinton Papers, VII, p. 261.
122. *G. V. Schaick to the United States in Congress Assembled*, Papers of the Continental Congress 1774–1789, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 247, Roll #52, Item #41, Vol. X, p. 327, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Although this Memorial is undated, a second Memorial written by Colonel Van Schaick on June 6, 1782 refers back to the Memorial in question and indicates that it was written on August 29, 1781.
123. *Report of a Committee on Col. Van Schaick - Sept. 4, 1781*, Journals Continental Congress, XXI, p. 930.
124. *List of Postponed Reports - Papers of the Continental Congress 1774–1789*, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 247, Roll #38, Item #31, p. 371, National Archives, Washington D.C.
125. *Resolution - State of New York in Senate Oct^r 30th - 1781 - Resolution -State of New York in Assembly 1st No..1781*, Papers of the Continental Congress 1774–1789, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 247, Roll #81, Item #67, Vol II, p. 436, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
126. *Governor Clinton to Colonel Van Schaick - Poughkeepsie, 31st October 1781*, Clinton Papers, VII, p. 461.

127. *George Washington to Major General Alexander McDougall - Head Quarters, August 19, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXIII, p. 19.
128. *Return of the non Commiss'on'd Officers and Rank and file of the State of New York serving in the Army of the United States, under the Command of His Excellency General Washington, specifying the Corps they serve in and the expiration of their enlistment Monthly from the 1st of October 1780 to July 1781 inclusively: together with the number engaged to serve during the War*, Clinton Papers, VII, p. 53.
129. *Return of Cloathing delivered to the New York Line for the Year 1781*, Clinton Papers, VII, p. 633.
130. *Colonel Pickerings Journal - The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781*, Henry P. Johnson, p. 88n.
131. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, James Thacher, M.D., p. 270.
132. *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781*, Henry P. Johnson, p. 88.
133. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, James Thacher, M.D., pp. 268, 269.
134. *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781*, Henry P. Johnson, p. 89.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
137. Ibid., p. 90.
138.*Military Journal of the American Revolution*, James Thacher, M.D., p. 270.
139. Ibid., p. 271.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid., pp. 271, 272.
142. Ibid., p. 273
143. *Colonel Ebenezer Huntington to Andrew Huntington - August 2, 1781*, Decision at the Chesapeake, Harold A. Larrabee, p. 257.
144. *The Campaign That Won America - The Story of Yorktown*, Burke Davis, p. 30.
145. *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781*, Henry P. Johnson, p. 95.
146. Ibid.
147. *The Campaign That Won America - The Story of Yorktown*, Burke Davis, p. 82.
148. Ibid.
149. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, James Thacher. M.D., p. 274.
150. *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781*, Henry P. Johnson, p. 101.
151. *Head Q^{rs} Williamsburgh Sept^r 27th 1781*, Orderly Book of the Fourth New York Regiment 1778–1781. Samual Tallmadge et al, p. 593 (hereafter cited as Orderly Book 4th N.Y.).
152. *Head Q^{rs} Camp before York Sept^r 28th 1781*, Orderly Book 4th N.Y., p. 594.
153. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, James Thacher, M.D., pp. 271, 272.
154, *Washington's Journal - Sept. 29, 1781*, The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781, Henry P. Johnson, p. 166.

155. *Head Q^{rs} Camp before York $Sept^{r}$ 28th 1781*, Orderly Book 4th N.Y., p. 594.

156. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, James Thacher, M.D., p. 280.

157. *Head Q^{rs} Camp before York Oct^{r} 2^{d} 1781*, Orderly Book 4th N.Y., p. 594.

158. Ibid.

159. *Ibid., Head Q^{rs} Camp before York $Sept^{r}$ 29th 1781.*

160. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, James Thacher, M.D., p. 281.

161. *Head Quarters before York Oct^{r} 5, 1781*, Orderly Book 4th N.Y., p. 594.

162. Ibid., *Head Quarters before York Oct^{r} 8, 1781.*

163. Ibid., *Head Quarters before York Oct^{r} 9th 1781.*

164. Ibid., *Head Quarters before York Oct^{r} 3rd 1781.*

165. Ibid., *Head Quarters before York Oct^{r} 5, 1781.*

166. Ibid., *Head Quarters before York Oct^{r} 3^{d}, 1781.*

167. Ibid., *Head Quarters before York Oct^{r} 5, 1781.*

168. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, James Thacher, M.D., pp. 282, 283.

169. *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781*, Henry P. Johnson, p. 132.

170. *Regulations for the Service of the Siege - Before York Oct^{r} 6th 1781*, Orderly Book 4th N.Y., pp. 602–605.

171. *Orders for the trenches Oct^{r} 9th 1781*, Orderly Book 4th N.Y., p. 594.

172. *General Orders - Head Quarters before York Wednesday, October 10, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXIII, p. 205.

173. Ibid.

174. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, James Thacher, M.D., pp. 283, 284.

175. *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781,* Henry P. Johnson, p. 141n.

176. Ibid., p. 141.

177. Ibid., p. 145.

178. Ibid.

179. Ibid., p. 193.

180. *Autobiography of Philip Van Cortlandt*, NYPL.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid.

183. According to Lossing (II, p. 318) "twenty-eight British captains, each bearing a flag in a case, were drawn up in line. Opposite to them, at a distance of six paces, twenty-eight American sergeants were placed in line to receive the colors. Ensign Wilson of Clinton's brigade, the youngest commissioned officer of the army (being then only eighteen years of age), was appointed by Colonel Hamilton, the officer of the day, to conduct this interesting ceremony. When Wilson gave the order for the British captains to advance two paces, to deliver up their colors, and the American sergeants to advance two paces to receive them, the former hesitated, and gave as a reason that they were unwilling to surrender their flags to non-commissioned officers. Hamilton, who was at a distance, observed this hesitation, and rode up to inquire the cause. On being informed, he willingly spared the feelings of the British captains, and ordered Ensign Wilson to receive them himself, and hand them to the American sergeants." Lossing states that he received the statement of Ensign Wilson's participation in the surrender of the colors at Yorktown from the latter's relatives and had "no reason to doubt its truth." He further indicates that, "it is also corrobrated by an eye-witness who lived to the age of ninety-eight, and knew Wilson from his boyhood until his death." The basis of Lossing's contentions have some obvious shortcomings. D. S. Freeman brands Lossing's account as "absurd" and not worthy of quotation (Washington, V, p. 391: saying that "No authentic details have been found of the surrender of the colors from which fact it may be assumed that the cased flags were laid on the ground without incident." Contrary to Lossing's contention, Wilson was not the youngest commissioned officer in the army. At the age of fifteen, young Alexander Clinton had received an Ensign's commission on September 29, 1780 and was appointed in the First New York early in 1781.

184. Colonial Documents, p. 198.

185. *Affidavit of Amey Davidson, Daughter of John Crandle of Fishkill - 20th March 1793*, War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Manuscript File, Microcopy 859, Item #14336, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

186. *Muster Roll of Captain Aaron Aorsons Company of the 1st New York Regiment in the Service of the United States Commanded by Goose Van Schaick for January, February, March, April and May 1781*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 5-1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

187. *Receipt of Jacob Crandall - 21st March 1793*, War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Manuscript File, Microcopy 859, Item #14336, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

188. *General Orders - Head Quarters near York, Sunday, October 21, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXIII, p. 251.

189. Ibid.

190. *General Orders near York, Monday, October 29, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXIII, p. 287.

191. *General Orders near York, Friday, November 2, 1781*, Fitzpatrick, XXII, p. 318.

192. *Autobiography of Philip Van Cortlandt*, NYPL.

193. Ibid.

194. Ibid.

195. Ibid.

196. Ibid.

197. Ibid.

198. Ibid.

Chapter Eight

1. *Muster Roll of the Field Staff and other Commissioned Officers in the First New York Regiment in the Service of the United States of America Commanded by Col^{o} Goose Van Schaick . . . New York Hutts Jan^{y} 22d 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 4–2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

2. *Autobiography of Philip Van Cortlandt*, NYPL.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. *Muster Rolls of the Companies of the First New York Regiment for the Month of April 1782,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives

Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Rolls #65 and #66, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

6. A total "establishment" for the First New York Regiment was set forth in the Inspection Return of the Regiment for the Month of May 1782, signed by Maj^r Gen^l Steuben, Inspector General of the Army of the United States.

7. *P. Cortlandt to Brig^r Gen^l Edward Hand, Adjutant General - Newburgh May 3, 1782*, Emmett Collection (EM5500), NYPL.

8. *Inspection Return of the 1st New York Regiment Commanded by Col^o G. V. Schaick for the Month of June 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 4–2, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited June Inspection Return).

9. Fitzpatrick, XXIV, pp. 280, 281.

10. *G. Washington to Major Gen^l Heath - Headquarters New Windsor - March 30th 1782*, Heath Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

11. *Revolutionary Manuscripts - Item #9831#233b*, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

12. *Roll and Muster of the First Company in the First New York Regiment of Foot Commanded by Col^o Goose Van Schaick for the Months of August and October 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 5–1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

13. *Muster Roll of Cap^t John Quackenboss Company of the First Reg^t of New York Troops in the service of the United States Colonies - Camp at Tienderoga 20th day Septemb^r 1775*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 1–2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

14. *Rolls and Musters of the Third Company in the 1st New York Regiment of Foot for the Months of March through December 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #66, Jacket 10–1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

15. *Rolls and Musters of the Sixth Company in the 1st New York Regiment of foot for the Months of May through December 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 8–1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

16. *Roll and Muster of the Second Company in the 1st New York Regiment of Foot for the Month of May and the Month of October 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #66, Jacket 11–1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

17. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York - Vol. XV*, State Archives Vol. I, Berthold Fernow, p. 184, and *Rolls and Musters of the Sixth Company in the 1st New York Regiment of Foot for the Months of March through December 1782 inclusive and the Months of January, March and April 1783,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 8–1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

18. *Roll and Muster of the 4th Company in the 1st New York Regiment of Foot for the Month of October 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 6–1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

19. *Roll and Muster of the 4th Company in the 1st New York Regiment of Foot for the Month of October 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #66, Jacket 12–1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

20. *Head Quarters - Verplanks Point - Thursday, September 26, 1782*, Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 212.

21. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Manuscript File, Microcopy 859, Item #7336, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

22. Ibid.

23. *Steuben, Maj^r Gen^l to his Excellency Gov Clinton - New Windsor April 10, 1782*, Manuscript Collection, Washington's Headquarters at Newburgh, New York.

24. *Inspection Return of the 1st N York Regiment Commanded by Goose Van Schaick Esquire for the Month of May 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 4–2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

25. Inspections of the First New York Regiment for April and June 1782 were conducted and signed by Walter Stewart, Col^o, inspector for the Northern Army. The inspection for the month of May 1782 was conducted and signed by "Steuben, Maj^r Gen^l." Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 4–2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

26. *Inspection Return of the First New York Regiment of Foot for the Month of April 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 4–2, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited April Inspection Return).

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. June Inspection Return.

30. Breeches (linen, woolen or Russian drilling) were knee length and fastened just below the knee cap with either buttons or a buckle. Overalls (linen, woolen or Russian drilling) extended to and covered the top of the shoe. They generally fit tight around the legs, with a strap under the shoe, and were sometimes considered to be more serviceable than breeches.

31. June Inspection Return.

32. An enlisted man's stock was usually a relatively heavy piece of black leather or cloth, worn around the neck under the shirt collar and fastened in the back by a buckle or tied with laces. White stocks were in some use but the predominant color was black. In some cases, particularly officers, stocks were fabricated from velvet or other fine material and often utilized a silver buckle. In some cases, they were made of thin, soft leather and lined with cloth. A cravat was a long scarf-like piece of cloth, generally linen, white or natural in color, which was wound around the neck several times with the ends usually tucked inside the shirt in front. Stocks were in wider use, particularly among enlisted men.

33. June Inspection Return.

34. *Inspection Returns of the First New York Regiment for the Months of April, May and June 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 4–2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

35. April Inspection Return.

36. *History of the United States Flag*, Milo M. Quaife, Melvin J. Weig, Roy E. Appleman, New York, 1961, p. 33.

37. *Inspection Return of the 1st N. York Regiment Commanded by Goose Van Schaick Esquire for the Month of May 1782*, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 4–2, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as May Inspection Return).

38. Ibid.

39. *Head Quarters - Newburgh, Monday, May 20, 1782,* General Orders of George Washington Issued at Newburgh 1782–1783, Major Edward C. Boynton, p. 21.

40. *Cornelius Van Dyck to Mrs. Tanaka Van Dyck - Pumpton, July 3, 1782,* Revolutionary War Manuscripts #KL13215–F6, New York State Library, Albany, New York,

41. Ibid.

42. May Inspection Return.

43. *Governor Clinton to John Morin Scott - Poughkeepsie, Dec^{r} 3d, 1781,* Clinton Papers,, VII, p. 539.

44. *Governor Clinton to the honble, the Delegates of the State of New York in Congress - Poughkeepsie, Dec^{r}. 8th, 1781,* Clinton Papers, VII, p. 567.

45. *Philip Schuyler to Robert R. Livingston - Albany, Dec. 16, 1781,* R. R. Livingston Papers, NYHS.

46. *B. Lincoln to His Excellency the President of Congress - War Office, May 2, 1782,* Papers of the Continental Congress 1774–1789, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 247, Roll #162, Item #149, Vol. I, p. 291, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

47. Ibid.

48. *Journals of the Continental Congress 1774–1789,* W. C. Ford, Vol. XXII, p. 288 (hereafter cited as Journals Continental Congress).

49. *G. V. Schaick to James Duane Esq. - Albany May 13, 1782,* Duane Papers, Vol. V, #120, NYHS.

50. *G. V. Schaick to the United States in Congress Assembled - Albany 6th June 1782,* Papers of the Continental Congress 1774–1789, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 247, Roll #52, Item #41, Vol. X, p. 305, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

51. *G. Washington to Col^{o} Van Schaick - Head Quarters 12th June 1782,* Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

52. *G. V. Schaick to His Excellency Gen^{l} Washington - Albany 21st June 1782,* Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

53. *Papers of the Continental Congress 1774–1789,* National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 247, Roll #52, Item #41, Vol. X, p. 305, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

54. *George Washington to The Secretary at War - Head Quarters, Verplanks Point, September 1, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, pp. 98, 99.

55. George Washington to the Secretary at War - Head Quarters, November 11, 1782, Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 329.

56. Ibid.

57. *Orderly Book of the Fourth New York Regiment 1778–1782,* Samuel Tallmadge, et al, Division of Archives & History, University of the State of New York, p. 617 (hereafter cited as Orderly Book 4th N. Y.).

58. *G. Washington to Col^{o}. Van Schaick - Head Quarters 6th September 1782,* Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

59. *G. V. Schaick to His Excellency Geo. Washington - Albany Sept^{r} 20th 1782,* Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

60. Journals Continental Congress, XXIII, p. 721.

61. *Return of the number of Non Commiss^{d} Officers & Private Men now actually serving the United States in the first N York Regiment of foot and specifying the number whose time of service will expire at different periods between this date and the 31 December 1783 - Camp Pumpton Plains, 18 August 1782,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #65, Jacket 4–2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

62. *Head Quarters Newburgh, August 21, 1782,* General Orders of Geo. Washington Issued at Newburgh 1782–1783, Major Edward C. Boynton, p. 41 (hereafter cited as Washington's Newburgh Orders).

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., Aug. 27, 1782, p. 45.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., Aug. 29, 1782, p. 54.

69. *Head Quarters Verplanks point, Sunday, September 1, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, pp. 101, 102.

70. Washington's Newburgh Orders, pp. 58, 59.

71. *Orderly Book of the Second New York Regiment 1780–1783,* Samuel Tallmadge et al, Division of Archives & History, University of the State of New York, p. 612.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., p. 617.

74. *Head Quarters, Verplanks point, Monday, September 2, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 104.

75. *Head Quarters, Verplanks point, Sunday, September 1, 1782,* Fitzpatrick XXV, p. 103.

76. *Head Quarters, Verplanks Point, Saturday, September 7, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 136.

77. *Head Quarters, Verplanks Point, Saturday, September 14, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 158.

78. Ibid.

79. *Head Quarters, Verplanks Point, Sunday, September 15, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 159.

80. *Head Quarters, Verplanks Point, Friday, September 27, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 214.

81. Orderly Book 4th N.Y., p. 617.

82. *Head Quarters, Verplank's Point, Friday, October 4, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 236.

83. *General Orders - Verplank's Point, October 11, 1782,* Fitzpatrick XXV, p. 252.

84. *Head Quarters, Verplank's Point, Friday, September 13, 1782,* Fitzpatrick XXV, p. 155.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., p. 156.

91. *Roll and Muster of the Seventh Company in the first New York Regiment for the Month of October 1782,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Roll #66, Jacket 14–1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

92. *Military Journal of the American Revolution,* James Thacher, M.D., p. 323.

93. *Head Quarters, Verplank's Point, Saturday, October 26, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 360.

94. *Autobiography of Philip Van Cortlandt,* NYPL.

95. *Map of the Winter Cantonment of the American Army and its Vicinity for 1783,* drawn by Simeon DeWitt-NYHS.

96. *General Orders - Headquarters Newburgh, Monday, October 28, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 303.

97. William Tarbell, a soldier in the 7th Massachusetts Regiment who was quartered at the New Windsor Cantonment, drew a sketch of the encampment showing the placement of the huts and some of the other buildings. Some of the particulars of both the officer's huts and the enlisted men's huts were included together with a number of other details. A copy of Tarbell's drawing is housed in Washington's Headquarters, Newburgh, New York. As a result of archeological exploration in and around the New Windsor Cantonment plus considerable additional research, much detailed information regarding the Cantonment, its buildings and its lay-out has been compiled. The results of the archeological exploration and research are in general agreement with Tarbell's sketch and provide a valuable source of factual information.

98. Ibid.

99. *General Orders - Head Quarters, Newburgh, Wednesday,* October 30, 1782—Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 310.

100. *General Orders - Head Quarters, Newburgh, Saturday, November 2, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 317.

101. *General Orders - Head Quarters, Newburgh, Monday, November 25, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 370.

102. George Washington to Nehemiah Hubbard -Head Quarters, Newburgh, November 20, 1782, Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 357.

103. Washington's Newburgh Orders, p. 61.

104. *General Orders - Monday - February 10, 1783,* Fitzpatrick, XXVI, p. 111.

105. *General Orders - Headquarters Newburgh, Tuesday, October 29, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 304.

106. *General Orders - Head Quarters, Newburgh, Saturday, November 2, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 317.

107. *General Orders - Head Quarters, Newburgh, Saturday, November 9, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 326.

108. *General Orders - Newburgh, Wednesday October 30, 1782,* Fitzpatrick XXV, p. 309.

109. *General Orders - Head Quarters, Newburgh, Tuesday, November 12, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 332.

110. Ibid.

111. *General Orders - Head Quarters, Newburgh, Thursday, November 14, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 343.

112. *General Orders Head Quarters, Newburgh, Tuesday, November 19, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, pp. 354, 355.

113. Ibid.

114. *General Orders - Head Quarters - Newburgh, Saturday, November 23, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 368.

115. Ibid., p. 369.

116. *General Orders - Head Quarters, Newburgh, Wednesday, December 11, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 422.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid., p. 423.

119. *Monthly Returns of the Companies of the First New York Regiment - March to December 1782,* Revolutionary War Rolls 1775–1783, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 246, Rolls #65 and #66, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

120. *General Orders - Head Quarters, Newburgh, Saturday, November 23, 1782,* Fitzpatrick, XXV, p. 369.

121. Ibid.

122. *G V Schaick to the Honourable General Gates - Camp York Line - November 28, 82,* Gates Papers, Box #16 Item #118, NYHS.

123. *General Orders - Friday, January 31, 1783,* Fitzpatrick XXVI, p. 87.

124. *Head Quarters, Newburgh, February 28, 1782,* Washington's Newburgh Orders, p. 68.

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